

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"IN all human probability, then, the whole of the interest of the debt, and all the sinecures, and pensions, and salaries, and also the expenses of a thundering standing army, will continue to be made up by taxes, by loans from the Bank, by exchequer bills, by every species of contrivance, to the latest possible moment, and until the whole of the paper-system, amidst the war of opinions, of projects, of interests, and of passions, shall go to pieces like a ship upon the rocks."—*Register*, 28th March, 1817.

## TO LORD GREY,

### On the Ten-Pound Suffrage in Large Towns.

Kensington, 7th November, 1831.

MY LORD,

PLEASE to look at the motto! She really seems now to be *getting amongst the breakers!* The wind howls in the shrouds; the masts creak; the curling fire of the waves gleams through the darkness; thump after thump sends her to and fro, and the next moment may give her in pieces. The standing army all in motion; canons travelling post; guards stationed to defend the treadmills; post-chaises filled with common soldiers; fires blazing in every direction; the rich, in towns, arming for their defence against the "*mob*," as the working people are called; yeomanry-avalry, in the country, arming for a similar purpose; a bill brought in by the Government for issuing licenses to farmers to plant man-traps and spring-guns in their homesteads; a JUDGE escaping from the bench, over the roofs of houses, in disguise! I shall presently speak of the causes; but, at any rate, such is the state of things; to

which may be added, *bishops burnt in effigy*, and that, too, by the very same people who, thirty-eight years ago, were urged by the loyal, and by the clergy in particular, to burn in effigy that "*Tom PAINE*" who foretold these very things, and which things would have been prevented, if his advice had been followed. Of the cause I shall presently speak; but if these things do not indicate that "*the rocks*" are at hand, I do not know what can.

I am well aware that those who live on taxes and tithes will, while they grind their teeth and grin horribly, exclaim, "*Punishment* will fall on the rioters!" Ay; but what then? It has fallen on them: many of them are dead; hundreds are sent into slavery for life; and some of these for "*highway robbery*," committed by a crowd of men and boys making a farmer or a parson give them a few shillings or a few pence. "*Punishment*" has fallen upon them; punishment did fall on WILLIAM SUTTON, a Hampshire lad of eighteen, who, with a dozen others, made a farmer give them *four copper pennies*, for which "*highway robbery*" SUTTON was condemned to death, and transported for life. "*Punishment*" did fall upon HENRY COOK, of Micheldever, who was hanged for striking BINGHAM BARING, without doing him any bodily harm. "*Punishment*" has fallen on them, and is falling on them every day; but that brings no diminution of the danger or of the alarm. Many fall; many indeed! But millions remain; and millions can neither be put to death, nor held in chains; and as to making them contented by calling them *mob*, *rabble*, *wretches*, *miscreants*, *monsters*, and the like, none but the insolent villains who plunder them will ever think of that; and amongst these villains are a great part of those who conduct the London daily press. In such a state of things, the inflicting of *punishment* does no good. Even the dreadful slaughter at Bristol

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will not frighten nor damp one single working man; but it will fill the breasts of the whole of them, even in the most obscure hamlets, with feelings that it would be unnecessary for me to describe.

As to the immediate cause of the present violent state of things, it is clear that WETHERELL was not that cause, except upon *one spot*, and even there there were *predisposing causes*, without which the dreadful effect would not have been produced. To be sure, his conduct had been particularly offensive; he had called the working people by all manner of vile names; he had called the 10l. voters "*a pauper constituency*;" he had called the working people of London "*the turbid, base populace*;" he had been constantly insisting that the *people were become cool in the cause of reform*; he had called for *special commissions to go forth again*; he had, in short, been a co-operator with THE LIAR in calumniating the people on the subject of the bill; he had done every-thing to irritate and provoke the people. But still, if the people had felt confident that THE BILL *would finally be carried*, they would, indeed, have hissed and groaned him most gloriously in a noble-spirited place like Bristol, and they might have smashed his carriage; but there their anger would have ended. He would have been a subject of laughter and of mockery, instead of serious assault, if they could have *been confident that all his efforts against them would finally be defeated*. Far, however, was that from being the case. They had seen THE BILL rejected; and, which was a great deal worse, they had reason to apprehend ANOTHER BILL, *by which the working people would be for ever cut off from the right of voting*. Their minds were soured by this prospect: they had no promise that this should not be done; they looked upon themselves as *betrayed*; the inflammable matter was already in their breasts, and the offensive, the contemptuous, the insolent WETHERELL was the match.

I beg your Lordship to consider a little the state of the mind of the people

of Bristol at the time when this contumelious lawyer was about to enter it for the purpose of *administering justice*. The London daily papers, which have taken notice of this matter, choose to consider the working people almost as brutes in point of mind; they choose, particularly the *Morning Chronicle*, to ascribe all the violences at Bristol to the *ignorance* of the working people. Never was there ignorance or impudence surpassing that of these writers. The working people, in country as well as town, know their interests a great deal better than these writers seem to know them. Of their quick-sightedness I will give the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* the following instance. When I was in Hampshire, the other day, a chopstick, who came to my place of lodging to talk to me about the mode of harvesting and preserving his corn, and who soon diverged into a talk about the *Reform Bill*, said: "And this cholera morbus, Sir, don't you think it's a sort of a *shoykoy* to frighten us out of the reform?" "Not exactly that," said I, "but when one of your children has got the hickups:" "Ay," said he, interrupting me, "then my dame tells it some frightful lie, and away goes the hickups." "Just so," said I: "Ay," said he, "but they won't frighten us by their cholera morbus, and make us contented with potatoes and water." My friend, Doctor BLACK, who owes his diploma entirely to me, understands a great many things; he knows a great deal; but he does not know the state of the minds of the working people of England, who understand, quite as well as he does, the nature and the tendency and the object also of all the laws affecting them, which have been passed since the oldest of them came into the world. They know all about STURGES BOURNE's bills; all about Peel's new felony and new trespass laws; all about the punishment of them without trial by jury; all about the parson-justices; and the pensioner and placeman, and military and naval officer-justices; they know all about the origin and ancient distribution of tithes. They understand well

how a bill came into the House of Commons, and was passed there, to authorise the selling of their dead bodies; they do not form themselves into clubs, in order to raise money to defray the expenses of *watching the graves of their deceased relations*; they do not do this without asking, why the Parliament cannot pass a law to *protect the dead bodies of the poor*, while they pass so many laws to protect the live and dead bodies of pheasants, partridges, and hares? In short, they want no instruction upon these subjects: they know well, that all their hardships arise from the want of having members in the Parliament *chosen by themselves*.

The people of Bristol knew these things as well as the people in every other part of the kingdom; and, besides this general knowledge, they were particularly interested in the fate of the Reform Bill; particularly interested in the passing of that bill *without any alterations*; and especially an alteration which would raise the qualification of voting in large towns. The elections at Bristol were made by the freemen, who are a very numerous body, and who are principally working men. The bill that has been rejected by the bishops and other lords took the right away at once from all the freemen who are not actually residing in the town at the time of the election, and for some months before; and it also took away the right of all resident future freemen; so that the present apprentices never would, as freemen of the city, have a right to vote at elections; but the bill did not do injustice to Bristol, because it gave a vote to every man that paid ten pounds a year rent for a house, which was better for the city and better for the nation; because, while it gave a greater number of voters than existed before, it made those voters more independent, less liable to be over-awed or corrupted.

The world has never exhibited instances of public spirit, of generosity, of devotion to country, equal to those which have been exhibited by the working men of England in their eagerness to give up their peculiar privileges for the

general good; and of this whole country, containing so many cities and towns where the working men possess this peculiar privilege, nowhere has the generous surrender been made with so much enthusiasm as in this very city of Bristol. When, therefore, they learned, and from your own mouth, that it was the intention to prorogue the Parliament *until a time undefined*, was it not to be expected that their feelings of disappointment would be strong in proportion to their generosity and zeal and devotion? It is a common saying, that you cannot have blood out of a flint stone; but it is as reasonable to expect blood from that callous material as to expect passive obedience and non-resistance to associate with enthusiastic public spirit.

But, if the people of Bristol felt sore at the delay in passing the bill, what must have been their feelings at suspecting, as I suspected, and as we had good reason to suspect, that the new bill was not only to deprive them of their ancient right of suffrage, but to deprive them also of the ten-pound voting contained in the last bill; or, at any rate, so to alter the suffrage as to diminish the number of voters in the city of Bristol? If I be asked *what ground* they had for this suspicion, I once more repeat the speech of the Lord Chancellor, made towards the close of the debate on the Reform Bill; and here are the parts that I allude to of that speech. At the beginning of his speech (Oct. 8), he said, "I have listened with profound attention to the debate, of which this, I believe, will be the last night, and which has already occupied five days, and having heard a vast variety of objections, having weighed the arguments on both sides, and *careless whether I give offence in any quarter*, I must say, that I am so *far moved by some points urged as to be ready to reconsider some matters upon which I had deemed that my mind was sufficiently made up.*" After an hour or two of very unmeaning stuff, he came to this: "In London and the great towns, in the Tower Hamlets, in Lambeth, and the like, ten pounds

“is a *low qualification*; but in other places it is not. **TWENTY POUNDS** was **ORIGINALLY DESTINED** for the qualification; but, upon inquiry into the circumstances of the small towns, we were *induced to abandon it*. But if noble Lords, speaking upon the question in general, choose to object to this qualification that it is uniform, and say that it ought to be different at divers places—lower in the smaller towns, and higher in the larger—I will not say that *I agree* with them; I will not say what was originally *my opinion*; I will not tell the *reasons* that *now* recommend the bill, as it stands, to my support; but I will say that whoever holds that doctrine will find *me ready* to secure for him the most ample, the most scrutinising, the *most candid* discussion of the subject in the committee. I speak as an individual; candour compels me to say thus much. But I, at the same time, say that it is *emphatically* a subject for the committee.”

Now, my Lord, it was impossible for me to read this without seeing clearly that the Lord Chancellor was ready, not like the hunted beaver, to throw anything to the hunters belonging to himself; but *to throw to them the sole protection of the working people*. Let it be observed, and your Lordship knows it well, that the ten-pound suffrage in the great towns was the thing on which the opposing bishops and peers made the stoutest stand. They saw, as I see, and as the people saw, that the ten-pound suffrage in the great towns would be a real good to the working people. The opponents of the bill, therefore, took it as their strongest ground of objection. They dwelt upon it more than upon any other part of the bill. With from fifty to a hundred men, really chosen by the working people, they clearly saw that the Pension and Sinecure List never could stand a year. They saw, in short, that they might as well give universal suffrage at once. Therefore it was, that the Lord Chancellor made the speech that I have quoted from, clearly expressing a readiness to give up this ten-pound suffrage,

and thus leave the working millions without the power of returning one single member. Does your Lordship imagine that the people of Nottingham, of Derby, and of Bristol, did not see this as clearly as I did? They saw that the Lord Chancellor was ready to give them up; they heard, coming from your Lordship's own lips, that the new bill was to contain *alterations*; what those alterations were to be *was kept a secret*; and no *contradiction* was ever given, and has not yet been given, to the interpretation which I gave to the speech of the Lord Chancellor; and what, then, were the people to think other than that this part of the bill was to be surrendered? What the feelings of the people are may be best described, perhaps, by what they would inevitably be if the new bill, with this alteration in it, were to pass. The bill being passed; the famous Reform Bill having become a law, off would go the reforming members to Dover, to Canterbury, to Rochester, to Chichester, to Portsmouth, to Southampton, to Chester, to Northampton, to Liverpool, to Derby, to Nottingham, to Hull, to York, to Newcastle, and other large towns. If we suppose one of these members addressing his constituents in order to get them to choose him again; and, as a happy instance, let us suppose your Attorney-General arrived for this purpose at Nottingham; something like the following would, if he were to speak common sense, be his speech:—

“GENTLEMEN,

“When I last had the honour to be elected by you, you deputed me to keep together in my chivalry with my learned brother, Lord BROUGHAM. We have fought the good fight; we have beaten the boroughmongers; we have carried our glorious Reform Bill; we have, indeed, taken away the suffrages of all those working men in this ancient and high-spirited town *who returned me* to Parliament; and we have given the right of voting to the tax-eaters and tithe-eaters, and others who live by the labour of the working men; but, then, we have taken care to secure to those working

"men the valuable, the precious, privilege of *paying taxes* and of *fighting* for those who have the votes!"

Long before he arrived at this sentence, happy man would he be if nothing harder than rotten eggs saluted his eloquent mouth; and, if he exclaimed, that he had a right to say what he thought, he would be answered by being reminded that he denied to the Duke of Newcastle the right to do *what he liked with his own*. Such, however, must be the substance of his speech, if he were to give his vote for such a bill. He might endeavour to varnish the matter over. He might tell the people of Nottingham, that houses were rented higher in Nottingham than in the towns of Hampshire; and that, therefore, it would not be fair, it would be ununiform, to give a vote to as low a rent in Nottingham as in Winchester. But his clever and sharp-sighted constituents would tell him, that the way to make the thing uniform would be to make the ten-pound rent the highest qualification, and to go on *lowering it* according as rents were lower in other places. The "patriot" Colonel DAVIS wanted a scheme of proportion; but he was for raising the qualification in the great towns, and lowering it in the small towns, in which he was not afraid of adding to the number of voters; because, in those towns, the aristocracy would have great and immediate influence.

Even according to the rejected bill, there are many *whole counties* in which not a single working man would have had a vote. The ten-pound rent shuts out every working man in every town in Sussex; in every town in Hampshire, except, perhaps, Portsmouth; in every town in Kent, except, perhaps, a few at Rochester and Chatham; in every town in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, and Somersetshire, unless Bristol be deemed a part of Somersetshire; in every town without exception in the whole of Wales, North and South; in every town in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire; and in short, in every town even in Lincolnshire; and, it is the same to the east, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, Norwich

excepted. In Cambridgeshire not a single working man would have had a vote, and the same in Huntingdonshire, Rutlandshire, and Leicestershire. There were absolutely no places at all the suburbs of London, Norwich, Bristol, and the great towns in Warwickshire, and Staffordshire, Derby, Nottingham, and the great towns in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and further to the North, including the great towns in Scotland, and four or five great towns in Ireland; there were none but these populous spots, in which there would have been one single working man entitled to a vote; and yet this was *too much*, and the famous patriot Brougham was "*ready to reconsider*" even this! Here, however, I take my stand. Not one *shilling of rise* in the qualification; no trick of shifting the suffrage *from rent to rate*, so as to enable the owners of houses to nullify the right of voting by letting their houses *free of rates* and *paying the rates themselves*: as touching this matter, I will never give my assent to any alteration that shall, in any manner, raise the suffrage in any towns, great or small; or that shall, in any way, tend to diminish the number of voters, whether in the towns or the counties.

Amongst all the schemes of disqualification, I do not hear of any one for disqualifying any persons *who live upon the taxes or the tithes*! Pensioners in general are nothing more than state paupers. Lord ALTHORP said, that many of the pensions were given *as charity*. While parish paupers are disqualified, why not disqualify state paupers? Our fathers, when they, in evil hour, consented to mortgage the country and to establish a revenue to be raised by internal taxation, disqualified revenue-officers from voting at elections of members to serve in Parliament; because such officers had a manifest interest in choosing such men as were likely to heap taxes upon the people. Even so late as the date of the establishment of the *paid justices of the Wen*, this principle prevailed; and these paid justices cannot vote at elections in consequence of a clause in the first police act, moved, I believe, by



*yourself*, or, at least, I recollect well that it was supported by you. This was very proper; to introduce the clause was a very meritorious act; but, my Lord, are these police magistrates more deeply interested in returning to Parliament men disposed to heap taxes on the people, than are the pensioners, sinecure people, grantees, retired-allowance people, dead-weight, and even the officers of the army and the navy, and all the long train of commissaries and commissioners and clerks? If there was good ground, and never was there better, for disqualifying officers of revenue and magistrates of police, is there not equally good ground for disqualifying all others who have a manifest, a vital, interest in returning such men to Parliament as shall be likely to heap taxes upon the people?

I by no means impute blame to your Lordship for not attempting to do this act of justice at this time; nor do I argue, from your not doing it, the want of a disposition in you to do it; but I beseech your Lordship to consider, how mortifying, how galling, how provoking it must be to the working man, who pays taxes and who receives none, to see perked up by the side of him a person who lives upon the taxes, qualified to vote at elections, while he himself is disqualified! If the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, in the fulness of his contempt for the knowledge of the working people, think them too ignorant to perceive, or too blunted to feel, the injustice and insolence of this, he knows less of the working people of England than he knows of the Hebrew tongue. They do perceive the insolence of this distinction; they do feel upon the subject as it becomes them to feel: their good-nature; their generosity; their proneness always to think well of the Government; their natural abhorrence of every-thing tending to dishonour the country and to tear it to pieces, made them eagerly seize the Reform Bill as the olive branch; but in exact proportion to the sacrifice which they willingly made to concilia-

tion will be their resentment if they see themselves studiously marked out as creatures fit only to be trodden under-foot.

Besides the injustice and the insolence of such an alteration, there is the flagrant impolicy of it; that is to say, impolicy on the part of the aristocracy particularly, who, as a permanent privileged body, have nothing so justly to dread as the rivalship of an aristocracy of money, which in this country must always be powerful, always interposing, always full of envy of the nobility, and must always be desirous to pull that body down to their own level. I have known the dispositions of a pretty many men in my life-time, and I have always observed that the most bitter enemies of hereditary rank and hereditary wealth are to be found amongst monied men, who measure lords by the scale of pounds, shillings, and pence, and who, having been the makers of their own fortunes, take special care never to look behind them, and have not the smallest regard for any-thing that bears a traditionary character. All the world is the same to them; and, as all men have ambition of some sort or other, the ambition of such men is, *not to see a greater man than themselves*; and as the order of nobility tells them, thus far shall you go, and no farther, they have a natural desire to pull down that order. Now, this is by no means the turn of mind of the working people, whose utmost ambition is that of attaining excellence in their several callings, and whose desires all terminate in being able to live well, in exchange for their constant labour. From thousands of men in the middle rank of life I have heard invective against the order of nobility; from no working man did I ever hear such in my life; and I am perfectly satisfied that there would be more danger to the order of nobility from voting confined to twenty-pound householders than from voting on the principle of a suffrage perfectly universal. Nay, I am satisfied that if the twenty-pound householder scheme were tried, the peers would, for their own safety, be compelled to resort

to universal suffrage, as Henry the Seventh, to preserve his kingly powers against the encroachments of the barons, was compelled to call in the people.

But, my Lord, the peers who oppose the bill seem to have thought of *nothing but the present moment*. They saw, as I saw, that the members coming from the great towns, and chosen by the working people, would never suffer that working people to be borne down to the earth as they now are; and they clearly saw that there was no possible way of relieving the working people, other than that of taking off the taxes to a very great extent; and they knew that this could not be done without beginning by taking from them and their families and dependents the enormous sums which they now receive out of those taxes. They saw, for instance, that the ten-pound suffrage would, if I chose it, put me into Parliament, where they well know that I never would be, without making the most strenuous efforts to cause this object to be accomplished. I am fully warranted in believing that the certainty, or nearly the certainty, that the ten-pound suffrage would put me into Parliament, *was one of the reasons for their rejecting the bill*. I am fully warranted in believing this, because, while almost every one of them who spoke against the bill made allusion to me and to Manchester, no less than four of them named me and that town, and cited the intention of that town to choose me as an *instance of the great danger* to be apprehended from the ten-pound suffrage in great towns; and, my Lord, I would not take my oath *that it was not Cobbett and Manchester that convinced your colleague, Lord BROUGHAM, of the propriety of being "ready to reconsider" his opinions relative to that part of the bill!*

To be plain, I do verily believe, that *Cobbett and Manchester* had great weight in the rejection of the bill, and also great weight with most of your colleagues; if not with your Lordship, in forming that design, which I believe to have been entertained, if it be not still entertained, *to alter the bill in this respect,*

and to raise the suffrage and thereby diminish the number of voters in the great towns; and I further believe, that this is the conviction of every well-informed man in the whole kingdom.

Such a thing as this never before disgraced any body of rulers upon the face of the earth! What a surprising thing that a man, literally bred up at the plough tail; never having been put to a school; never having had a patron of any description; having had to work all his life like a horse, to maintain and breed up a numerous family; having had no one contingency that has favoured his progress in life; having had no one earthly resource out of himself; never having written a line to catch the thoughtless, or to flatter any description of persons, high or low; having preferred living on a crust to riches and ease obtained by any of those means by which literary men usually obtain wealth and exaltation: what a surprising thing that such a man, leading such a life, should become so formidable to two great parties, dividing between them the whole of the powers of the Government of the greatest and richest country in the world, as to make those two parties (waging eternal strife as to every thing else) unite like children from the same mother, in efforts of every description, to keep that man down! Yet, surprising as it is, it is not less true than it is surprising. Before the Reform Bill was brought in, and when we were all on the tiptoe of expectation, I said to a friend, who was sitting talking with me on the subject, "What sort of reform do you think they mean to give us?" His answer was: "I think they will give just as much as will enable them to keep you out of Parliament." I told him that I made no doubt, that that would be *the wish*; but that if they gave so little as that, they would soon become more odious than their predecessors; and that they could not very well *exclude me by name*, as they had very nearly done in the SIX ACTS, two of which might as well have had *the name*; for every man in the kingdom saw that the Acts were intended *solely for the man*.

What adds to the curiosity of the thing is, that I never have wished to possess any public power of any sort, except that of being in Parliament, and that wish arose from a desire to assist in effecting a Parliamentary Reform. I cannot but know the prodigious difficulties that must surround a man who shall now undertake to assist in putting the affairs of this great and troubled country to rights. I know well that my *thirteen propositions*, which Lord WYNFORD (I think they call him), who was once the *renowned* SERJEANT-BEST, lamented that he had lost, and therefore could not read them to the House, and which I will subjoin to this letter, that the late Serjeant may have them another time; I know, my Lord, that these thirteen propositions must be adopted to the very letter, or that the discontent after the reform will be even greater than it is at this moment. And am I, of all men in the world, so stupid as not to perceive the great difficulties attending that adoption? Am I so shortsighted as not to foresee the turmoil which will arise in consequence? Do I know so little of mankind as not to be aware, that he who inflicts present evil on a comparative few, is sure to find but weak apologists in the many, on whom he is bestowing future and permanent good? Do I not know, that reproaches follow the knife of the surgeon, though it be necessary to the saving of life? Can I behold in prospect, as I do, as clearly as I behold the paper on which I am writing, swarms of clamorous pensioners, sinecure people, retired-allowance people, discarded commissioners, dead-weight people, by thousands upon thousands, growling fundholders, and dependents of all these, swarming like locusts upon the banks of the Nile, and all directing a good share, at least, of their reproaches towards me: can I behold all this, and behold, at the same time, the delivered the freed, the benefited, the happy nation, leaving me to bear the reproaches as well as I can: can I behold all this, and, still possessing my senses, embark in the perilous concern as on a party of pleasure? Can I, who have

lived all my life as free as a bird in the woods; who have never been thwarted in my will by any-body, and who have never had on my shoulders responsibility to any living soul; who value not wealth, who cannot gain a particle of fame, who despise the very thought of possessing what are called honours and dignities, and who would not pass one evening amongst the guttlers and gossippers and spitters and belchers of the boozing-ken of Bellamy, even on condition of thereby adding five years to the length of my life; can I, for my own sake, sigh after a seat in the Parliament?

Yet, what a fuss, what a contriving, what a plotting, to keep me out of that hole of candle-light confusion, to sit in which, more than one session by candle-light, would demand a motive much stronger than I can at this moment conceive! What an intriguing, what a plotting, what a prosecuting, by both the parties; and what terrible calamities to this our country! And, at once horrible and ludicrous as is the thought, I verily believe that, at last, both parties would *prefer a going upon the rocks* to the seeing of me in that Parliament, in which I do not want to be, but to go into which I will *never decline*, if any body of electors shall freely, and of their own accord, choose me to be the representative of their will; and in which Parliament the nobility, if they had had common sense, would have taken care to have me long and long ago, seeing that, while I would not have suffered them to take one penny unjustly out of the pockets of the people, I would not have suffered them to be despoiled by loan-mongers and Jews; always having been convinced, as I still am, that an aristocracy of *title and of privilege*, when kept within due and constitutional bounds, brings none of that oppression upon the working people which is always brought upon them by a *darned aristocracy of money*.

I have, thus, my Lord, very frankly, and, I trust, with becoming respect, offered you my opinion upon a subject deeply interesting to those industrious and laborious millions to whom our

country chiefly owes its greatness. I am fully persuaded, that it is your individual wish to act justly towards them; and that you may have the resolution to give effect to that wish, or to appeal from your opponents to the people, is the anxious desire of one who has never had any ambition other than that of seeing his country the greatest and the happiest in the world.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

[and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. The following are the 13 propositions which OLD SERJEANT BEST had lost, or put into the wrong pocket. It is a pity that he should not have have them at hand ready for *another bout*; and therefore I insert them here.

1. To put an end to all pensions, sinecures, grants, allowances, half-pay, and all other emoluments now paid out of the taxes, except for such public services as, upon a very scrupulous examination, shall be found fully to merit them; and to reduce all salaries to the American standard.
2. To discharge the standing army, except such part of the ordnance and artillery as may be necessary to maintain the arsenals at the sea-ports in a state of readiness for war; and to abolish the military academies, and dispose of all barracks and other property now applied to military uses.
3. To make the counties, each according to its whole number of members of parliament, maintain and equip a body of militia, horse as well as foot and artillery, at the county expense, and to have these bodies, as they are in America, mustered at stated periods; so that at any time, a hundred thousand efficient men may be ready to come into the field, if the defence of the kingdom require it.
4. To abolish tithes of every description; to leave to the clergy the churches, the church-yards, the parsonage houses, and the ancient

glebes; and, for the rest, leave them to the voluntary contributions of the people.

5. To take all the rest of the property, commonly called church-property; all the houses, lands, manors, tolls, rents, and real property of every kind, now possessed by bishops, chapters, or other ecclesiastical bodies, and all the misapplied property of corporate bodies of every sort; and also all the property called crown-lands, or crown-estates, including that of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster; and sell them all, and apply the proceeds to the discharge of the Debt which the late parliaments contracted with the fundholders.
6. To cease, during the first six months after June, 1832, to pay interest on a fourth part of the debt; second six months, to cease to pay interest on another fourth; and so on for the other two fourths; so that no more interest, or any part of the debt would be paid, after the end of two years.
7. To divide the proceeds of all the property mentioned in paragraph No. 5, and also in paragraph No. 2, in due proportion, on principles of equity, amongst the owners of what is called *stock*, or, in other words, the *fundholders*, or persons who lent their money to those who borrowed it in virtue of acts of the late parliaments; and to give to the fundholders, out of the taxes, no thing beyond these proceeds.
8. To make an equitable adjustment with respect to the pecuniary contracts between man and man, and thereby rectify, as far as practicable, the wrongs and ruin inflicted on thousands upon thousands of virtuous families by the arbitrary changes made by acts of the late parliaments, in the value of the money of the country.
9. To abolish *all internal taxes* (except on the land), whether direct or indirect, including stamp-taxes of every description; and to impose such a postage-charge for letters

as to defray the *real expenses* of an economical and yet efficient post-office establishment, and no more ; so that the postage would be merely a *payment* for the conveyance of letters, and not a tax.

10. To lay just as much custom-house duty on importations as shall be found conducive to the benefit of the navigation, commerce, and manufactures of the kingdom, viewed as a whole, and not to lay on one penny more.
11. To make effectual provision, in every department, for the maintenance of a powerful navy ; to give such pay and such an allotment of prize-money to the seaman as to render impressment wholly unnecessary ; to abolish the odious innovation of *naval academies*, and re-open the door of promotion to skill and valour, whether found in the heirs of nobles, or in the sons of the loom or of the plough ; to abolish all military *Orders*, and to place the navy next in honour to the throne itself.
12. To make a legal, a *fixed*, and a generous allowance to the King, and, through him, to all the branches and members of his family ; to leave to him the unshackled freedom of appointing all his servants, whether of his household or of his public ministry ; to leave to him the full control over his palaces, gardens, and parks, as land-owners have over their estates ; to take care that he be not worried with intrigues to purloin from him that which the people give him for his own enjoyment ; so that he may be, in all respects, what the Chief of a free people ought to be, his name held in the highest honour, and his person held sacred, as the great guardian of the people's rights.
13. To make an accurate valuation of all the houses, lands, mines, and other real property, in each county in the whole kingdom ; to impose a tax upon that property, to be paid quarterly, and in every county on

the same day, and in such manner as to cost in the collection, or, rather, payment, not more than *four hundred pounds* a year in any one county ; to make the rate and amount of this tax vary with the wants of the state, always taking care to be amply provided with means in case of war, when war shall be demanded by the safety, the interest, or the honour of the kingdom.

Now, my Lord GREY, here, at any rate, there is nothing of an *abstract* nature ; nothing theoretic, nothing dark, nothing *covert*. This is what I would do, if I could have my will ; and if I were a member of Parliament, and found that this, *the whole* of this, could not be obtained by the Parliament, I would quit the concern as soon as I had ascertained this to be the fact ; as soon as I had ascertained that the people had chosen men not ready to do all this ; or, at least, as soon as I had ascertained that the people would again choose such men. I would not consent to be the representative of any body of persons who would not pledge themselves most solemnly to support me in my endeavours to accomplish *all* this. And, further, I would accept of the post only on the condition that I should be at liberty to vacate it if I chose, at the end of one session, if the Parliament continued the shameful practice of sitting by *candle-light*, and under the same roof where there are an eating-house and a boozing place. I will never sit, for any length of time, amongst "legislators," who drop in one after another, or half a score at a time, belching, and picking their teeth. In such a scene, how can attention and reflection exist ? From such a scene sober thought is excluded by the laws of nature. From the fumes of port and sherry and grog and brown-stout and tobacco ; from the spattering of the frying-pan and the hissing of the grid-iron, wisdom flees as men flee from a pestilence. To account for so great a country being brought to the state in which this now is, after ages will only want to be informed that its legislators lounged away the morning in bed, and

held their deliberations in the night-time, under the same roof with a guttling and guzzling house, and that, on an average, a fourth, or a third, of them were eating or drinking, at the very moment that laws affecting the property, the liberty, the life of millions were under discussion. This is all that after-ages will want to know about the causes that produced a state of things such as that which now exists in England. To a body of men leading such lives and addicted to such manners, no motive, not much more powerful than I can have an idea of, would induce me to belong any longer than the time sufficient to enable me to ascertain that no change in their manners was to be reasonably expected. So that the renowned OLD SERJEANT need not be very uneasy about the danger to be apprehended from my being in Parliament. Those who have the power of choosing members of Parliament generally look for *a little coaxing*; and none will anybody ever get from me. It will be *service* for me to bestow, and not a *favour* for me to receive. I have, with the rest of the people, an interest in the general happiness of the nation; but I have none but a common interest; and there is no moral obligation on me to submit, for the sake of the general good, to endure the breath of the belchers from Bellamy's, who have, I am told, even a "*smoking room*!" All this must be changed, or there can be *no good* arise from reform. At any rate, it *shall* be changed, or I will have nothing to do with it for more than *one session*. So that, again I say, OLD SERJEANT BEST may make himself pretty easy on *account of me*.

### THE BISHOPS.

PRETTY generally these "successors of the Apostles," as they call themselves, have been *hanged and burnt in effigy*, since the rejection of the Reform Bill. He of WINCHESTER was, as the newspapers told us, hanged, on the top of the market-house, just opposite his palace, at Farnham; afterwards burnt,

and thrown over into his own garden! He of Bristol *was absent*, when his palace was burnt; or he might have experienced something more serious. Instead of GUY FAWKES, who has, for more than 200 years, been annually burnt in effigy on the 5th of November, *the Bishops have been burnt this year!* What a change! How that lie, that infamous lie, which has for more than 200 years, been played off *against the Catholics*, has now recoiled on the *Protestant Bishops!* I wonder how *he of Exeter felt*, while the transactions, which are related by the *Chronicle* as follows, were going on! I wonder whether, when *surrounded in his palace by SOLDIERS*, he thought of Lord Grey's advice to the bishops, *to put their house in order!*

"This city has been in a constant state of alarm for several days past, in consequence of the vast influx of strange ill-looking fellows, and as it was well known to the authorities that it was the intention of certain parties to burn the effigy of the Bishop, an officious little Tory Alderman, the Bishop's secretary, and several other obnoxious characters, on the 5th of November, it was greatly feared this scene would be taken advantage of by the ill-looking fellows who were lurking about the city in parties of six and eight; accordingly the Mayor sent to Plymouth for a regiment of soldiers, but none could be spared. All the inhabitants were requested to be sworn in as special constables, and as that force would only be adequate to protect the city, four regiments of yeomanry cavalry were quartered in the barracks to defend the county jail and bridewell. So affrighted were many of the wealthy inhabitants, that they removed their plate and valuables, provided themselves with fire-arms, and fortified their houses in every possible way. The long-dreaded 5th of November came, and the morning, as usual, was ushered in with a merry peal on the parish bells, firing of cannon, &c. The day passed off quietly, and, in the evening, the usual

"display of fire-works took place ;  
 "but the spectators were comparatively  
 "few ; no move was made to burn the  
 "effigy of the Bishop, &c., till eleven  
 "o'clock at night, when a large body  
 "of determined fellows made their ap-  
 "pearance in the Cathedral-yard with  
 "the effigy of the poor Bishop, mitred  
 "and lawn-sleeved, &c., also a large  
 "quantity of faggots ; a temporary  
 "gallows was soon erected, and the  
 "pious scaramouch was soon hoisted  
 "upon the gibbet. Its appearance was  
 "ridiculously emblematical of this  
 "notorious hater of liberty and re-  
 "form. The head was composed of  
 "a hollow turnip, with a candle in the  
 "centre, in which were cut the nose  
 "and mouth, but no eyes—showing,  
 "that though the head possessed light,  
 "the bishop was blind to the past and  
 "present scenes around him. The fag-  
 "gots being adjusted, they were set fire  
 "to, and the light soon discovered the  
 "vitals, composed of the liver and lights  
 "of a sheep, and a heart one mass of  
 "corruption, which the flames soon  
 "devoured, with the hollow head,  
 "mitre, and lawn sleeves, of one of  
 "the twenty-four enemies of reform,  
 "and withholders of the people's just  
 "rights ; all this was done in the  
 "Cathedral-yard, in full sight of the  
 "Palace. Had any attempt been made  
 "to prevent this innocent ebullition of  
 "public indignation, I have no doubt  
 "many lives would have been lost,  
 "and we should have had a second  
 "Bristol affair. Much credit is due to  
 "the Mayor in permitting the people  
 "to vent their indignant feeling (created  
 "by the late blind, obstinate, and wicked  
 "conduct of the bishops) on this effigy  
 "of a man who can never reclaim his  
 "character but by voting for reform  
 "when the bill is next brought before  
 "the House of Lords. The bonfire  
 "and effigy being consumed, the assem-  
 "bled multitude, which was composed  
 "of many thousands, gave three groans  
 "for the bishops and Tories, and nine  
 "hearty cheers for the cause of reform.  
 "The Bishop's Palace was filled with  
 "armed soldiers, who kept guard all  
 "night. Nothing occurred until half-

"past twelve, when the whole Palace  
 "was set in commotion by a few idle  
 "boys rolling a burning tar-barrel to-  
 "wards the Palace, which was supposed  
 "to be the signal for its demolition :  
 "but it was only done to frighten and  
 "make a deeper impression on the  
 "mind of the Bishop, of what might be  
 "the consequence of a second act of  
 "hostility towards the people. The  
 "boys continued their course down a  
 "street towards the river, which soon  
 "quenched the tar-barrel, and dissipated  
 "the fears of the Bishop, the Tory Lord  
 "Rolle, and others assembled in the  
 "Palace, to support the drooping spirits  
 "of the holy and right rev. Father in  
 "God, whose compunction of conscience  
 "they had serious apprehension would  
 "urge him to apply one of the loaded  
 "muskets to his head, and blow out  
 "the small portion of brains his skull  
 "contained. Soon after burning the  
 "effigy of the Bishop, the assembled  
 "multitude separated, quietly went to  
 "their homes, and up to the present  
 "time, Monday morning, there has not  
 "been a single committal for riot or  
 "disturbance. I again repeat, much  
 "credit is due to the Mayor for fore-  
 "sight, determination, and coolness, in  
 "permitting the effigy to be burnt, which  
 "could not have been prevented without  
 "bloodshed. Will the liberty-hating Tories  
 "now dare to say there is a re-action in re-  
 "form in Devon, and especially in this  
 "city, which till lately has been com-  
 "pletely under their thralldom ? It has  
 "thrown off its shackles, and the people  
 "are now as free as the air they breathe.  
 "An anti-reform petition has been  
 "hawked about the city for the last  
 "week past ; and notwithstanding the  
 "Tories have had the meanness to get  
 "upwards of thirty people to sign it  
 "under the pretence of its being in  
 "favour of reform, and several other  
 "poor creatures at sixpence a-head, still  
 "only forty-three individuals of the  
 "lowest class have disgraced them-  
 "selves by signing it. No sooner had  
 "the affrighted inhabitants of this city  
 "recovered themselves on Sunday, than  
 "an alarm was created about two  
 "o'clock by the galloping of the yeo-

"manry cavalry, through the streets to  
 "Newton Bushell (a town about four-  
 "teen miles from Exeter), an express  
 "having arrived that the whole town was  
 "in flames. This I am not surprised at,  
 "as it is the veriest sink of Toryism in  
 "the county. No doubt they have set  
 "the town on fire to divert the public  
 "attention from reform. Such is their  
 "chagrin at their fallen littleness, that  
 "they would, like their mad fool-hardy  
 "leader, Sir Charles Wetherell, sacri-  
 "fice the lives of thousands of their  
 "fellow-creatures to effect their hellish  
 "purpose, by throwing the county  
 "into anarchy and confusion. New-  
 "ton Bushell is a town composed  
 "of houses which are principally cover-  
 "ed with thatch, and nothing can save  
 "it if set fire to in two or three places;  
 "it is here the Tories have lately  
 "had their meetings and dinners, for  
 "they are completely driven out of this  
 "city; and their numbers have so  
 "dwindled, that they would be lost in  
 "a respectable-sized room; they have  
 "breathed their last gasp, and their  
 "writhing will avail them nothing—  
 "their factious spirit must expire, and  
 "like an eel out of water, will even-  
 "tually smother itself in its own slime."  
 "MONDAY, EIGHT O'CLOCK.—An ex-  
 "press has just arrived, stating that the  
 "fire was extinguished before the ar-  
 "rival of the military, and was supposed  
 "to have taken place from a chimney  
 "having taken fire, the flakes from  
 "which fell on the thatch. The damage  
 "done does not exceed 100*l*. An un-  
 "necessary alarm existed in this case."

### THE ALARM.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Bolt-Court, Thursday Morning, 10th Nov. 1831.

MY FRIENDS,

I BESECH you pay attention, first to  
 some articles that I am about to take  
 from the MORNING CHRONICLE  
 and the TIMES, and then to the pro-  
 ceedings of the Council of the Political  
 Union of Birmingham, in a meeting  
 held on Monday last. You are all men

of sense, and many of you men of in-  
 fluence; and *you may now do much in  
 preserving the peace of the country.* I  
 am acquainted with no man who is in  
 any way connected with the Govern-  
 ment; but the editors of the MORNING  
 CHRONICLE and of the TIMES *have  
 communications with such persons:*  
 I KNOW that they have; and, there-  
 fore, I pay just as much attention to  
 the following two articles, as if the  
 words had been uttered to me by Lord  
 GREY himself! Read, then, with at-  
 tention; pause on every sentence; you  
 will clearly see *to what* and *to whom*  
 they point. You will see, indeed, that  
 all *my long-entertained suspicions* were  
 but too well founded. I never doubted  
 the good *wishes* of Lord GREY; but  
 always doubted *his power* to give effect  
 to those wishes. The non-dismissal of  
 the LORDS-LIEUTENANT was quite proof  
 enough of this. But pray read the fol-  
 lowing articles, and think that you hear  
 Lord GREY utter the words.

*From the Chronicle and Times of  
 9th November.*

We have always been slow to believe  
 the reports of conversions of bishops  
 and peers, knowing the strong aversion  
 that these men must have to all mea-  
 sures founded on equal-handed justice  
 —and more especially to that crowning  
 measure, a reform of the representation.  
 All coaxing—all attempts at persuasion  
 must be thrown away in such a case.  
 The request to BARNARDINE to come  
 down to be hanged, was not more un-  
 palatable than to boroughmongers and  
 bishops (one and the same), must be  
 the application to consent to a really  
 efficient bill of reform. We know that  
 it is the interest of these men to affect  
 a disposition towards conversion, be-  
 cause it throws their opponents off their  
 guard, and what they want is delay. It  
 is only in hell that the great poet ex-  
 cludes the entrance of hope. The anti-  
 reformers feed themselves with hopes  
 of re-actions—hopes of deaths—hopes

of riots and insurrections, which might inspire alarm into men possessed of property. We ourselves are not without alarm, on account of the distress caused by the stagnation of trade in many parts of the country. In the manufacturing districts, there are at present numbers of men out of work and suffering severely; and till the Reform Bill is carried, no improvement is to be hoped for. The anti-reformers hope to profit by the calamities of which they are the authors, by the rejection of the Reform Bill. The *Times*, we observe, shares our suspicions with regard to the alleged conversions of the anti-reformers. "That the peers *have not*" (says our contemporary) *usefully re-* "considered their opinions on the Reform Bill, so as to insure a reception for that measure more palatable to the nation than the last, has *within these few days become a matter of widely-diffused suspicion!* No proof, indeed, of the contrary has yet been adduced, nor any facts which carry much weight or authority on the face of them. If, therefore, Ministers, *once already deceived and dissatisfied,—once already instrumental,* no doubt innocently, in the *heavy disappointment of the nation,—if they have not more materials for confidence in the self-reformation of the House of Lords than have yet reached the public eye, and still do not lend themselves with instant vigour to a 're-adjustment' of the peers, the concluding passage of the following extract may be found to express a feeling by no means confined to the author, who begins with some caustic, though grave, reflections on the bishops, and on the Scotch and Irish peers. (Here our contemporary introduces a long quotation from a pamphlet, in the shape of a letter to*

"Earl GREY, 'on the adjustment of the House of Peers.'"

An efficient Parliamentary reform must necessarily lead to economy in church and state, and of this the bishops and boroughmongers are well aware. To a reform which will be attended with such results they will never, we fear, consent, except under circumstances which they hope may never occur.

In the meantime, the vote of the bishops has at once and for ever alienated from them the regard of the nation. It is one striking sign of the times, that everywhere on the 5th of November last the bishops were substituted for GUY FAWKES. North and South, East and West, speak but one language with regard to them.

These are the sentiments that now pervade the country. Reform must ULTIMATELY be carried; of THAT we have no doubt. *But we dread the collision of an angry people, and the selfish enemies of the people; and we are suspicious of the alleged conversions of enemies to friends. This we KNOW, that if the people DO NOT BESTIR THEMSELVES in such a manner as to extinguish all hope in the boroughmongers of the possibility of resisting reform, the country may have to wade through blood to the attainment of that blessing.* We know that the boroughmongers are CAPABLE OF ALL WICKEDNESS!

*From the Chronicle of the 10th of November.*

Meetings continue to be held throughout the country. That of the county of Warwick, which took place on Tuesday, affords a striking evidence of the zeal and spirit of the reformers in that part of England. The requisition for a meeting of the county of Norfolk is

signed by a strong array of nobles and rich commoners, and individuals of influence and character. These are not surely symptoms of re-action.

The anti-reformers, we know, are beginning to hold their heads as high as ever; and though there are no symptoms of any alteration of opinion on the part of the people, but, on the contrary, everywhere evidence of a more earnest determination to obtain *an efficient reform*; yet, **SOMEHOW OR OTHER**, a belief is gaining ground that the path of Ministers is beset with *greater difficulties than they calculated on*. That belief *has travelled much farther than the metropolis*. At the meeting of the Birmingham Council, held on Monday last, of which a report will be found in another column, Mr. Attwood observed, "he did not hesitate to say *that the bill was in danger*. It had been rejected by the House of Lords, and *he feared it would be rejected again*. But there were other circumstances which he could not but consider. It was possible—he did not think it was probable—but *it was possible*—that *our good and patriotic King* may be induced, by the wiles of those *who surround him, to withdraw his support from the bill*. It was possible that the *machinations* of our powerful enemies may defeat the Ministers, and compel them to resign. And if (said Mr. A.) the King, army, and navy, are transferred to the power of the boroughmongers, why, then, I could not but feel the *peculiar danger of my situation*." It is obvious, from these remarks, that Mr. Attwood is suspicious. The advice he gave the members of the Union was important. "If the enemy (said he) could send spies to excite the people to rise in petty, unorganised, undirected bodies, in order that these bodies might

be cut down in detail, the energy of the people would be damped; they would argue from these numerous failures of petty bodies to the failure of all attempts, and *the cause of reform must fall to the ground*; the boroughmongers would triumph, and the venerable Earl GREY himself, whose life had been devoted to reform, *might be brought to punishment for his patriotic efforts*."

It is proper that we should, at this important crisis, *be prepared for the worst*. We have never doubted the *honesty* of Ministers, but we have always doubted *their power to perform impossibilities*; we have always doubted their power to convert bishops into reformers, and boroughmongering peers, interested in the present system of pillage of the people, into partisans of an economical government. We never under-rated the task of Ministers; on the contrary, we have always been inclined to suppose that some of the Ministry over-rated their own means of management. It requires no great art to persuade a man to fill his pocket at the expense of others; but a man must be more than a conjurer, who can persuade another who can take what he pleases from the pockets of others, to forego that power. If Ministers can have a majority without the bishops, the bishops may be reformers against their will; but if the majority is to be made by the bishops, they will play the old trick over again.

Mr. ATTWOOD says, "If the boroughmongers should throw out the bill a second time, they will destroy Lord GREY, *unless the people save him*. Let them adhere to the law, to the throne, and the Government, and put their trust in them *until they deceive them*. When they have deceived us—but deceive us they *scarcely can*—we must

have a care *lest they destroy us*. The proposed organisation will enable us to do this with effect, and therefore it was very important that this should be done whilst the present Ministry are in power.

. . . . . The council *will be placed in dangerous circumstances* if the boroughmongers should again triumph. Therefore he called upon the Union to take such steps as would enable them, if efforts were made to *oppose the King or punish his Ministers*, to arrest the hand of the destroyer, and vindicate the rights of Englishmen, the happiness of their homes, and the principles of law."

Several *plans of arming* were submitted to the Council, and referred to a Committee, which is to report on Tuesday next. Mr. ATTWOOD *urged expedition, as a week, he said, was important.*

We warn Englishmen not to allow themselves to suppose **THAT THEY CAN NOW REMAIN PASSIVE**. A time is coming when danger can alone be averted by showing *that they are prepared to face it*. Ministers have *much at stake*; but we *all of us* have much at stake; for should WELLINGTON and the boroughmongers return to power, they would endeavour to stifle the desire for reform by *an exercise of authority which would involve numbers in great distress*. They would not ultimately succeed; but in the meantime *many a worthy man would be sacrificed*.

Let us now *show a bold front*. He who is not with us now *is against us*. Nothing but firmness and a determination on the part of the people *not to be trodden down*, will enable them to succeed. Through the *first opening* given by *timidity or saint-heartedness*, the *boroughmongers will pass*.

*Proceedings of the Council of the Birmingham Union, on Monday, the 7th Nov. 1831.*

In consequence of the Warwick Meeting being held on Tuesday, the Council met on Monday. The meeting, as usual, was most numerously attended. At West Bromwich, a very populous district, a new Union was formed on Monday last: spirited resolutions were passed, and "the old women in black aprons" were spoken of in terms by no means creditable to them. The feeling against the bishops runs very high in this neighbourhood; on the 5th of November they quite supplanted Guy Fawkes. At the last meeting of the Council a letter from Liverpool was read by Mr. Pare, requesting all information which would assist certain patriotic individuals there in forming a Union. It was stated that many of the leading men of Liverpool are anxious to see the project carried into effect. Another anonymous donation of 50*l.* was received. It was conveyed to the Secretary in the following letter:—

*"Birmingham, 7th Nov. 1831.*

"Sir,—Having narrowly watched the proceedings of the Birmingham Political Union from its commencement, I cannot help expressing my unqualified approbation of its patriotic conduct, and adding my testimony in its favour to that of the country generally. Let your Council continue to pursue the same glorious path which they have hitherto chalked out for themselves, and let their future proceedings be guided by the prudence, wisdom, and determination which have hitherto distinguished their proceedings, and I am convinced the salvation of our dear country will ultimately crown their efforts. Being fully aware how essential pecuniary assistance must be to enable you to carry on the great work you have undertaken, I beg your acceptance of the enclosed donation of 50*l.* in furtherance of the great cause of Parliamentary Reform.—I am, Sir,

**"AN ARDENT FRIEND AND ADMIRER OF THE  
BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL UNION.**

"To Mr. B. Hadley,  
Hon. Secretary of the Birmingham Political Union.

This letter was received with loud cheers, and a vote of thanks to the patriotic donor was immediately carried. The testimony of the donor is as important as his donation is liberal. The general business of the meeting was unusually interesting. The conduct of the Lancashire reformers was noticed. The Council condemned the proceedings of Mr. Hunt in the most unqualified manner. He called the Reform Bill "humbug" and "poison," and yet he had voted for that humbugging, poisonous measure. The Lancashire men should first rest satisfied with obtaining the bill as it now stands. If it did not produce the desired effects, they might then call for additional concessions; and they would be enabled, by the provisions of Lord John Russell's Bill, to call for such additions with sevenfold greater force than they at present possess.

Mr. EDMONDS denounced Mr. Hunt as the advocate of either revolution, or of confirmed slavery to the boroughmongers. He was aiming at an impracticable measure. Was it likely that the peers would consent to a measure including annual parliaments, vote by ballot, and universal suffrage, when they would not concede a much more modified measure? Does Mr. Hunt, then, mean to excite the people to fight for the measure he proposes? If such be his determination, it was strangely inconsistent in him to urge Government to prosecute Mr. Edmonds merely for calling upon the people not to pay taxes, if the enemies of the present bill came into power? If he himself contemplates acts of ultra violence, why condemn a much more moderate and equally efficient measure of resistance, when proposed by Mr. Edmonds? The question is this—a reform, a full and adequate reform, is to be obtained. The

bill contemplates a reform which bids fair to lead to an adequate reform of all abuses; that bill, supported as it is, must be carried; and if, when carried, it answers not the end proposed, the power of the people is seven times increased to effect what is wanting. Here, then, is a measure of peace, insuring a speedy and bloodless revolution. But Mr. Hunt's proposal, if acted upon, and if attempted to be carried by force, brings the people into an immediate civil war with the boroughmongers; many of the present friends of the people may forsake them—blood will flow, and all the horrors of the first French Revolution will be renewed. If Mr. Hunt declares that he seeks not revolution, he seeks to confirm our slavery by proposing a measure which must be lost; for, if he seeks not revolution, he will forbid us to attempt the triumph of our cause by arms, and we must quietly resign ourselves to our fate. The Lancashire men will, therefore, do well to reflect, that Mr. Hunt's proposal undoubtedly involves either slavery or revolution, whilst the bill and the Unions advocate a measure which must ultimately secure liberty, and complete the restoration of every happiness, without making wives widows, and children orphans.

The above we consider the sentiments of the council respecting Mr. Hunt and the men of Lancashire; if, indeed, the feelings of the men of Lancashire are such as are proclaimed at the late comparatively small meetings at which Mr. Hunt was present.

Mr. CHARLES JONES, a very influential man in Birmingham, then brought forward his plan for the organisation of the members of the Union, upon the principle and for the objects which, in a former paper we elucidated. He had

received very great assistance in the arrangement of his plan from a gentleman whom he named, and who is a banker at Wolverhampton.

After Mr. Jones had submitted his plan to the consideration of the Council, a second plan, differing but little from the first, was proposed by Mr. Edmonds. Neither of the plans was adopted, but both were referred to the consideration of a committee appointed for the purpose. The report of the committee will be brought up on Tuesday next. We shall then lay the plan adopted before the public.

Mr. HIPKISS very judiciously observed, that in the proposed organisation, the Union will have to steer clear of two great difficulties. On the one hand, they must not trench upon the law, so as to be caught in its meshes; and on the other, whilst they still act with, and for, the Government, they must not be ostensibly the tools of men who are in power, lest they thus cause a suspicion amongst the people that they are not firm, uncompromising friends of the popular cause. The deliberations of the Council will be directed to the devising of a plan which will secure the Union from either of these dilemmas. No time will be lost in completing the organisation. Mr. Attwood observed that no delay must be encouraged, *for a week is important*. Important, because circumstances may occur which will require the Union to preserve peace, and *defend the law, Government, and his Majesty*. To convey some idea of the importance which the surrounding Unions attach to the proceedings of the Union at Birmingham, we need only observe, that one member of the Council stated that he, in his individual capacity, had received, during the week, three letters, inquiring what course the

Union meant to follow. The effect of the contemplated organisation will be, that if riots should occur in Birmingham, ten or fifteen thousand men will, in the short space of two hours or less, be prepared, irresistibly, to vindicate the law, and restore the peace and security of the town. Mr. Edmonds particularly insisted upon the truth, that if the Union's show their strength, they will never have to exert it. The contemplated measure will give additional credit to the Union. It will place the members more immediately under the eye of the appointed officers, and any violent, illegal, or seditious conduct will draw upon the man who exhibits it immediate expulsion. Thus, in whatever light the measure is viewed, whether as a conservative step to defend the peace when violated, whether as a support to the King and his Ministers, or whether as a means of enhancing the integral worth of the Union, it seems entitled to praise. Such is decidedly the impression which exists among the Council.

Mr. Attwood gave his opinion upon the subject in the most candid and fearless manner. He did not hesitate to say that *the bill was in danger*. It had been rejected by the House of Lords, and he feared it would be rejected again. But there were other circumstances which he could not but consider. It *was possible*—he did *not think it was probable*, but it *was possible*—that our good and patriotic King may be induced, *by the wiles of those who surrounded him, to withdraw his support from the Bill*. It was possible that the machinations of our powerful enemies may defeat the Ministers, and *compel them to resign*. And if, said Mr Attwood, the *King, army, and the navy, are transferred into the power of the boroughmongers, why*

then I could not but feel *the peculiar danger of my situation*. He knew that *spies* from the enemies' camp were in Birmingham; they might be then in the room, and he hoped they were, in order that they might see the determination of the Union to go with the law in defence of the law. He cautioned the Union and the people, whose happiness was his being, end, and aim, not to become the victims of the spies to whom he had alluded; if the people did but remain *legally united respecting the law*, they would not long be slaves; but if they allowed faction to arise amongst them, they never could be free. He illustrated this by the fable of the Bulls. If the enemy could send spies to excite the people to rise in petty, unorganised, undirected bodies, in order that those bodies might be cut down in detail, the energy of the people would be damped, they would argue from these numerous failures of petty bodies to the failure of all attempts, and the cause of reform must fall to the ground; the borough-mongers would triumph, and the *venerable Earl Grey himself*, whose life had been devoted to reform, *might be brought to punishment for his patriotic efforts*. Again he conjured the people not to listen to men who urged them to *these partial risings, which never could succeed*. If by their spies the borough-mongers should induce the people to waste their strength wickedly, sillily, murderously, as they have done at Bristol, he for one should immediately despair of reform. The working classes can of themselves do nothing but plunder, and burn, and pull down society upon their own heads. Therefore the members of the Union should, with spirit, act up to that clause in their regulations, which instructs them to consider as their enemy any man who

would instigate to violence. No crowd, however powerful and determined in itself, can do any-thing effectual without a head. Not only would any petty effort fail, but those who made it would break the holy league which now exists between the King, the people, and the peerage. He said the peerage, for it must never be forgotten that all the old peers were for the people, and none but the upstart peers were against them. That league must not be broken, for in it the hope of the country is anchored. That league will give to the country a boon far greater than Magna Charta itself; for Magna Charta only destroyed the tyranny of a King, to erect that of the barons; but the bill of reform will destroy the tyranny of all, and erect on its ruins the liberty of the people at large. He would say the same of the Bill of Rights, which only transferred power from the hands of one faction into the hands of another, which has scourged the people more severely than the former did. Mr. Attwood briefly referred to the Lancashire reformers. He did not condemn annual Parliaments, vote by ballot, and universal suffrage; but really he could not say whether a bill, in which these were included, would or would not be more favourable to the happiness of the people than the bill of Lord John Russell. Mr. Attwood's sole object was to see a state of things which would give the poor man honest food for honest labour, and which would make the employer as dependent upon the employed as the employed upon the employer. If he found that the present measure would not lead to this happy and natural state of things, why then he would go for something else. But he never would forego a certainly practicable and salutary measure for one which is at present

of an impracticable character. He again repeated, that no petty rising of the populace could effect the triumph of the bill, unless they had with them (as the Union has) the mind, the muscle, and the mass of the people throughout the country. But when they have these, why, if ever the law should be violated—if ever *Polignac should come*—we stand upon an impregnable rock to repel him, and defend the laws and liberties of our country. It required no little energy and power to oppose and defeat a sordid oligarchy. Julius Cæsar, when he had conquered the world, did not venture to oppose the tyrants of Rome, until their conduct had condemned itself, and then he exclaimed, “We will go where the gods and justice call us.” Here was an example for the people: let them adhere to the law, to the throne, and the Government, and put their trust in them until they deceive them. When they have deceived us—but deceive us they scarcely can—we must *have a care lest they destroy us*. If, indeed, the boroughmongers should throw out the bill a second time, *they will destroy Lord Grey*, unless the people save him. The proposed organisation will enable us to do this with effect, and, therefore, it was very important that this should be done whilst the present Ministry are in power. The vile *Standard* is labouring to prejudice the *mind of our excellent King against the reformers*. It is said we caused the riots at Bristol; we, who keep peace at home, go to excite disturbance abroad! These wretched insinuations may injure us; therefore let us make hay whilst the sun shines. *Be prompt and decisive*. Mr. Attwood, in the course of a long and powerful speech, repeatedly urged the necessity of a peaceful demeanour on the part of the people.

He said the Union had always had difficulties to contend with; those difficulties were daily, nay, *hourly increasing*. The Union must be organised peacefully, efficiently, and legally. It is a sacred duty which we owe to ourselves and our friends. Therefore, when the plan is published, let every man act with promptitude; let every petty jealousy be forgotten, and the welfare of our country be the object, the only object of all. The office which he held, he held only for the benefit of the people. He hoped every little, low feeling would be banished from the hearts of the Unionists—that one closely-united phalanx might be exhibited to meet *any coming emergency*. *The time was at hand when men's hearts would be tried*. In every society there must be leaders, and the Union itself would have been powerless without the Council. The Council would be *placed in dangerous circumstances*, if the boroughmongers should *again triumph*. Therefore he called upon the Union to take such steps as would enable them, if efforts were made *to oppose the King or punish his Ministers, to arrest the hand of the destroyer*, and vindicate the rights of Englishmen, the happiness of their homes, and the principles of law.

The above is a mere skeleton of Mr. Attwood's address. It is evident that the project now under the consideration of the committee is one which must engage the attention of the public at large. We shall lay before them the earliest information respecting it. The attention of the Council was then turned to the late affair at Bristol, and to certain facts connected with the Reform Bill. We shall report the whole to-morrow. One fact, however, we must now notice:—Mr. Pare read from a letter which he had just received from Bristol, the

important fact, that one gentleman whose house was burnt down has recognised the person who fired it, and he proves to be one of the special constables sworn in by the magistrates to protect the entry of Sir Charles Wetherell. The writer of the letter states, that upon inquiry being made into the whole of this unfortunate affair, some dark doings will be discovered.

In consequence of the increasing anxiety manifested by the public to attend the meetings of the Council, a committee has been appointed to procure a still larger room for their accommodation.

Now, my readers may be *well assured*, that Mr. ARWOOD did not say what is here imputed to him, without being thoroughly convinced *of the danger*, of which he spoke! In short, I believe, that the existence of the danger *had been communicated to him in the most authentic manner*; and that he had been chosen *as the channel for conveying the alarm to the whole country*! Every man of only plain common sense, who is at all used to estimate the value of words made use of in such a case, must see *what* is now the obstacle that Lord GREY has to contend with, and *where* that obstacle lies. Every such man must also see that the fate of the kingdom, as far as regards its peace and safety, now depends *UPON HIM*, and upon him alone. If he had, if he found *the obstacle*, on the 10th of October, resigned at once, and clearly stated the *reasons*, clearly described the *obstacle*, to the people, never should we have heard of the sad affair at Bristol, or of any of the affairs in any other part of the kingdom, which have so alarmed and terrified people of property. It is the state of *uncertainty* in which the people are that is the real cause of all the violence; the uncertainty in which the people are, not with regard to the *will and wishes* of Lord GREY, but with regard to his *intentions*; with regard

to *what he means to do*. He is only one, *in number*, of a Ministry; but, in the eyes of the people, he is *the whole Ministry*; and the people ought, by some means or other, to be, as quickly as possible, informed *of what he is resolved upon*. Two or three men, of excellent understandings, have told me, that they suspected it to be his intention *quietly to resign, and retire home to his estate*, leaving his successors to do what they could with the troubled nation. I have always opposed this opinion; for, besides the impolicy of it; besides the suspicion, the well-grounded suspicion, of *connivance* on his part, Lord GREY would be justly chargeable with all the horrible works which would inevitably succeed such a step taken by him. And what apology would he have for such a step? That he found *the obstacle*, mentioned above? That would be worse than saying at once that *he had changed his mind*, and was no longer for reform! No; he never can do this thing: he never can devote his country to anarchy. His path is very simple: he has only to tell the people plainly, that *he is determined to propose THE BILL* again, and to *keep his place*, in order to do it, *unless he be put out of his place*. Let him plainly say that, and all will be well; the bill will be carried, and an end will be put to the turmoil, and the throne and the Peers and all will be safe. The people are every-where ready to support him; but they are in the dark as to his *intentions*. I do hope that many days will not pass before those intentions will be *explicitly declared*.

The following letter, which I take from the *COURIER of Tuesday last*, belongs to this subject. It is a most eloquent call on the people TO ARM. It is a piece of very able writing; but, which is more, it comes from a paper well known to be the mouth-piece of the Ministry.

Sir,—I perceive you are averse from a general arming of the people. Allow me to state in a few words, for want of better arguments, why I am a dissentient from your doctrine.

I take it for granted, ours is a free state. At all events, we may consider it theoretically

so, though, I believe, the ideas of Lord Castlereagh had of it was, that it was constitutionally and essentially oligarchical, merely checked and modified by the independent habits of the people; for, in answer to the Deputies from Italy, he is reported to have said, that freedom here was verily a custom, and not one of the best we had. Well, taking it to be free, (and if the presumption be indeed an error, it is at least sanctioned by all constitutional writers, without exception,) I defy you to select any other *free* state, either ancient or modern, in which there exists an actual prohibition from carrying arms; yet this I believe to be the case in this very pauperized free state.

Now I confess I am an advocate for teaching the people the use of arms. No nation can possess high moral qualities without courage. That courage must be exercised according to the fashion that the changing modes of warfare may suggest, or it will grow obtuse and rusty. It was remarked (by Lord Wellington, I think, but my memory is a porous one) as a proof of a very bad state of society in France, that the people there were obliged each to carry a musket in one hand, and his implements of industry in the other. This, which he regarded as a very bad state of society, I regard as the very best. Let one hand guard, I say, the productions of the other. Woe to the state of which the sole defenders are mercenaries! I see no reason, either physical or moral, why the sword should not be laid upon the loom, and the same nerves clench the spear which welded the iron for its formation. Freemen should never give up the noble prerogative of self-defence—

With hearts resolved, and hands prepared,  
The blessings they enjoy to guard.

Arts and manufactures, and the sedentary habits of life which they beget, are naturally enervating; and the only way to counteract and neutralize their influence in this respect is, by the exercise of arms, and of the livelier passions which they bring into play. Bring me an instance of an industrious people who have been wholly kept from the use of warlike instruments, who have not fallen a prey either to foreign invasion or domestic tyranny. Is there a people more industrious, allowing for climate, than the Hindoos or the Chinese, in spite of it? Yet, the one nation has time immemorial been the spoil and slave of every subjugator; and the latter has long been under the gentle, and therefore politic yoke of the Tartars, who easily subdued it—and why? Because the former confined the use of arms to a particular caste; and the latter neglected it altogether, trusting rather to stone walls and inanimate fortresses, than to living ramparts and indomitable spirits.

Besides, in the good old times of England, was not every man a soldier? Was not a mulct inflicted upon every one who did not keep his trusty yew bow, and who was not, at least weekly, instructed in the practice of

shooting at a mark? Do we despise, in the pride of our modern perfection in the arts of death, the simple but effective weapons of our ancestors? Were there not the conquering times of Cressy and Agincourt, and these the sinewy instruments that illustrated them! And do the rays of those crowns of glory beam with less lustre than those of Blenheim and Waterloo? or do they not rather, in their political consequences, throw a brighter refulgence on the historical scroll than these ever will?

When incendiaries were hurling about the fiend-like brand of destruction, last winter, who, that is an Englishman, but felt conscious that a moral degradation, proceed from what cause soever it might, had reduced to an infuriated Lazzaroni the British peasantry? When the leaders of itinerant mobs were seized without difficulty, and abandoned by their dastardly followers without a struggle, who but confessed that the sturdy character of that most useful class of our countrymen had become deteriorated and lost? I own, I would rather they had made an obstinate old English opposition, even in a bad cause, than resembled the boors of Russia, and the serfs of Hungary, in their vengeance and their cowardice. The conduct of the men of Merthyr-Tydvil refreshed and consoled me. I approve heartily of the energy of the Government on that occasion; but I beg also to sympathise with the undaunted bearing of these iron-men.

In short, begging pardon for my diffuseness, I think the exercise of arms would tend much to give a holder tone to society; to inspirit the milk-and-water courtesies, now deemed polite, which are as pithless as they are specious; to inspire a manly resolution and consistency, and to preserve effectually, not only from the actual contact of barbarian tyranny, but even from the more distant, but withering, influence of a Holy Alliance, an influence which, I fear, has already tarnished the balls, or blasted the strawberry leaves, of more than one English coronet.

Besides, somebody, and not a friend, has contemplated an appeal to arms; else why the Tower—another citadel of another Antwerp—put into a state of defence? Why Fort Augustus, or some other fort in Scotland, victualled? Charles XII. instinctively put his hand to his sword in his dying moment; and corruption too, in her guilty agony, pointed to stronger circumvallations than Gaton and Sarum. The anti-reformers have troops. They regard (though I am sure those independent fellows would soon belie their expectations, were they called upon to act against the nation)—they regard the yeomanry as their armed feudal followers. On the broad principle of political expediency, I say, to arm one portion of the population against the other is most wicked, most tyrannous, and, in its ultimate consequences, as Ireland has proved, most anti-social. All should be armed, or none. I know the re embodying of the yeo-

manry was forced upon the present Government; but it is their duty, in the bare possibility of their ejection from office, on the most hypothetical surmise of a crash, or a convulsion (which God avert), not to leave the people of England in a worse condition, as to their defence, than they found them. I am certain the Minister will not betray us; but we shall be yet in a stronger position if we be not in a condition to be betrayed. Poland is fallen—the voice of a dictator is again heard on the banks of the Scheldt and the Eurotas.

I see, by your statement to-day, thirteen only out of fifty-one Lieutenants of Counties are friendly to reform or the Government; and yet these are the commanders of the newly-raised oligarchical troops. As scarcely any too, except those persons of certain principles, have been promoted in the army for years, I fear there also we shall find a fearful majority against us.

For these reasons, real or hypothetical, I entreat the Government to call out the Volunteers. A proclamation that will give bones and sinews and substance to these shadows of internal and external defence, will at once fix the Ministry. The turbulent will be restrained—property will be protected—the Reform Bill will be carried—the smouldering spark of patriotism, now extinct, or only flashing round the precincts of some petty corporate interests, or feeling, will burst into a broad, pyramidal, universal flame—and they who are now aliens to the sympathies of England, who triumph with the Cossack lance, or the torturing rack of a Miguel, will remember again they are part and parcel of ourselves, and hasten to identify themselves, and re-unite with “The Nation.”

P.S.—I have authority (the great Lord Chatham's, I believe) for my opinions; but I hesitate to make the flood of his eloquence pass through the slough of my recollection. He says, in his language, not mine—“The free soldier puts not off the citizen when he enters the camp, for it is to preserve his rights of citizenship that he has made himself, for awhile, a soldier.” Yours, obediently,

R. W.

October 29, 1831.

#### ADDRESS TO THE KING AND TO LORD GREY, FROM THE MEETING OF THE COUNTY OF WARWICK.

*To the King's most Excellent Majesty.*

“Most Gracious Sovereign—We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the nobility, gentry, clergy, and freeholders and inhabitant freeholders, in the county of Warwick, assembled at a public meeting convened by the High Sheriff, desire most respectfully to approach your Majesty at this important crisis, to express our sincere, ardent, and devoted attachment to your Royal person, and our unshaken resolution to sup-

port your Majesty's present Government by every constitutional means in our power.

“We deeply lament the refusal of the House of Lords to sanction the bill for a reform in the Commons House of Parliament, upon which the hopes and expectations of the nation were intensely fixed.

“We beg to express our unfeigned gratitude to your Majesty for continuing your confidence in an administration distinguished by its enlightened zeal to promote the public welfare, and to secure the constitutional rights and liberties of your people.

“We place implicit confidence in your Majesty's determined exercise of all those royal prerogatives invested in your Majesty by the Constitution, for the maintenance of your royal authority, and the preservation of the liberties of the subject, as to your Majesty may now or hereafter seem wise and necessary in such critical and eventful times; and we implore your Majesty, as the protector of the rights of your subjects, to give such aid and sanction to the counsel of your Ministers as may enable them to carry into speedy effect the great measure of Parliamentary Reform—a measure calculated to produce and ensure the peace, happiness, and prosperity, of your Majesty's dominions.

“We entreat your Majesty to give a favourable reception to this our humble petition, expressing, as it does, the sentiments of an immense majority of your Majesty's faithful subjects, who await with deep anxiety, but with unshaken confidence, the attainment of this great object of their wishes.

“May your Majesty, in thus aiding the hopes and prayers of your devoted and faithful subjects, cause them ever to regard you as the Patriot King of a grateful and happy people.

*“To the Right Hon. the Earl Grey.”*

“The Address of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and Inhabitants Householders, of the county of Warwick, in the county meeting assembled, on the 8th of November, 1831.

“We, the nobility, gentry, clergy, freeholders, and inhabitant householders, of the county of Warwick, offer our grateful thanks to your Lordship and his Majesty's Ministers, for your patriotism and firmness in support of the great measure of Parliamentary Reform, and for your continuance in his Majesty's councils after the rejection by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the bill for the amendment of the representation in England and Wales.

“That your Lordship's distinct and solemn public pledges to re-introduce into the legislature measures of equal efficiency in restoring to the people their just rights in the Commons House of Parliament, have maintained general order and tranquillity in the country, and acquired for your Lordship and his Majesty's Government the confidence and support of a united people.”

"That we have witnessed with increasing apprehension the rejection of the English Bill of Reform by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, without the deliberation of a committee, by which act the House of Lords has endangered all the institutions of Church and State, and hazarded the peace and prosperity of the nation.

"That the imputed reaction of public opinion is a gross misrepresentation; that the people are determined to support your Lordship's administration against the prejudices and interested machinations of the opponents of reform, and we implore your Lordship, thus upheld by the nation, to place confidence in its resolute support of your Lordship's enlightened and patriotic measures.

"That we observe with deep regret the active opposition to his Majesty's Counsels and Government of persons holding official situations; and we respectfully implore your Lordship to terminate the disgraceful exclusion of men of liberal opinions from civil distinctions, and to recommend the constitutional exercise of all those royal prerogatives that may be now or hereafter essential to the success of the Reform Bill—energy and determination being essential to the maintenance and success of your Lordship's administration.

### PRETTY CURIOUS!

**LIVERPOOL ELECTION.—DINNER TO LORD SANDON.**—Yesterday se'nnight a public dinner was given to Lord Sandon, at the Royal Amphitheatre, Liverpool, in celebration of his late triumph as a candidate for the representation of that borough. The preparations were on a most extensive scale. About 650 gentlemen sat down to dinner, and the boxes, as well as the gallery, were filled with ladies gaily attired. Amongst the latter were Lady Frances Sandon and Lady Charlotte Denison.

Some idea of the kind of reform to which the noble Lord is friendly, may be inferred from the following passage in his speech, which appears to be a thing of shreds and patches—a confused mass of ideas brought out by fits and starts:—

"They had just achieved a triumph which furnished a symptom that the affluent classes are not disposed to rend asunder the ties of the constitution, as some other persons appeared so desirous of seeing accomplished. (Cheers.) He felt that they had given a proud testimony that it was not their wish because an individual of high connexions came among them to exclude him from the honour of representing them in Parliament. (Loud

cheers.) The great object was the bill; but though from the principle he would not swerve, from the means avowed necessary to carry it, he might be allowed to vary. After the manner in which the measure had been received by one branch of the constitution, he was disposed to regard the question as at an end, unless means could be found—constitutional means—to carry it, and he hoped no one would resolve to see it carried in any way than constitutionally. (Cheers.) What use, he would ask, was the House of Lords, if, in time of great public excitement, it could not exercise a deliberate judgment? (Cheers.) But it was said that this was a question which appertained exclusively to the House of Commons. What, is not the other House to entertain a matter which deeply concerns the constitution? which concerns every man, whether commoners or lords, in the community? He believed that the Upper House entertained their opinions honestly; but while he allowed them the utmost discretion in the exercise of their opinions, he did not think that they acted wisely in rejecting the measure before they had taken the means to examine its detail. (Cheers.)"

Thus *blowing hot, and then cold*, his Lordship *floundered through an address of considerable length*. J. E. Denison, Esq., was present, and was greeted with the loudest applause by his former friends. The toast of "The Members for the Borough" was received with *hisses and cheers*, amidst cries of "Order" and much confusion. After the Chairman had retired, a most extraordinary scene of disturbance took place, in the course of which several tables were upset, several glasses were sent flying across the room, and sundry black eyes were given and received. We understand that it arose partly out of a dispute about who should be chairman, and partly out of the old grudge between the Ewartites and the Denisonites. The two Members do not, however, appear to entertain the *same jealousy towards each other that appears to exist amongst their partisans*. They both dined together, after the above entertainment, with the Mayor and Corporation, in perfect good fellowship, and their healths were coupled in one toast, and drunk with unanimous applause.—*Preston Chronicle*.

Ay, ay! I thought that *Harrowby's son* would turn out to be a *prime Reformer*!

## LEGISLATIVE FUNCTIONS OF THE BISHOPS.

[From *Carpenter's Political Magazine*.]

Love and meekness, lord,  
Become a churchman better than ambition ;  
Win straying souls with modesty again.

SHAKESPEARE.

The "untoward" conduct of the "spiritual peers" upon the motion for reading the Reform Bill a second time in the Upper House, has raised a cry against them from one end of the kingdom to the other—not merely among "the mob" and "the rabble," but among persons of all classes, and filling the highest rank in society. Whether the present excitement, which seems to be directed towards expelling the sub-heads of the church from the House of Peers will terminate in so grave an event, we are not disposed to affirm. Of one thing we feel certain, however ; namely, that if the bishops have any good right to a seat in Parliament, it would not be *just* to deprive them of their right, merely for their vote on the Bill, while the rest of the majority are left in the possession and exercise of their legislative functions. Their recent conduct, however, in opposition to the throne and the country, may be the occasion of instituting an inquiry into the *origin* and *propriety* of the *spiritual* order being amalgamated with the lay order, in the management of secular affairs ; and if it should do so, we have little doubt of the result.

In behalf of its propriety, no man can say a word, if he venerates the Scriptures, and is familiarized with the conduct, labours, sufferings, and doctrines of the primitive teachers of Christianity, to whose office the Anglican church affirms that her bishops have succeeded. Strange, indeed, this ! when no one can read the New Testament, even in the most casual manner, without being struck with the fact, that a modern bishop is, in this and a thousand other circumstances, the very antipode of his assumed predecessors of the apostolic age. Poverty, disinterestedness, laborious exertion without hope of reward, and the deliberate encountering of

perils, imprisonment, and death, characterized the primitive bishops—or pastors or guardians, as they might, with more scriptural propriety, be called.

"But what are the labours, watchings, fastings, perils, and difficulties of our Baron-Bishops ? These holy men, perhaps, pass many a sleepless night in the first stage of their exaltation, to discover by what possible means they may escape the persecution of Llandaff or Bristol, or some other poor see with which they find themselves disagreeably saddled. To be rid of this meagre martyrdom, they have sundry struggles with Satan, many wrestlings in prayer, many a score of groans and tears. By dint of voting and jobbing in the House of Lords, the successor of the Apostles finds his prospects brighten a little, for after infinite exertions of soul and body, he is translated to Exeter, peradventure, whereby his apostolical pocket is replenished with a great number of orthodox guineas. But not in Exeter is the godly man at ease : he is smit with a love of multiplication, and letter after letter is written to his patron and the minister, urging the necessity of a more advantageous translation. In the course of time, Winchester or Durham is vacant—then do all the eagles gather together to the carcass : loud are the screams of the apostolical vultures, and sad the dismay of the First Lord of the Treasury to know how to satisfy so much pious voracity : at last, after undergoing the threats of a dozen great Lords, each eager for his own client, the Premier makes selection of the hero of his picture, and crowns his hopes with twenty-five thousand pounds a-year, and all the gorgeous dignities of the Durham episcopacy. After this, surely the man of God is contented at last ? By no means ; he has sons and daughters not a few, and nephews very numerous. For all these there must be accumulated a store of good things full of marrow : the eldest son, perhaps, will condescend to gather up the dainties of the state as a layman—he is to be the head of the family ; for him, therefore, the Parliament, and the regular course of Parliamentary jobbing, is open ; but for his younger brothers, the church must open her nurse-like arms, and pour upon them a shower of benefices. My Lord Bishop is not slow to act the character of Jupiter Pluvius, and speedily sends forth from his liberal urn a deluge of golden prebends, large livings, archdeaconries, residentiaries, precentorships, chancellorships, subdeaneries, perpetual curacies, fellowships, masterships vicarages, and all the other thousand varieties of dew, concocted by the bounty of cloud-compelling Jove. The young gentlemen, who find themselves thus gilded from above, are probably the very worst sons of Belial that ever fornicated in the porch of the temple."

\* Beverley's Letter to the Archbishop of York.

The number of bishops having seats in the House of Lords is thirty; namely, the two English archbishops, twenty-four English bishops, and four Irish bishops; and they sit in the House (tell it not in Gath!) *not as churchmen*, or peers, *representing the clergy*, in their various grades (for these are all represented with the commonalty in the Lower House); but as SOLDIERS!—that is, as BARONS, holding certain lands, by *military tenure*—tenants in *capite par baronium*; and therefore compelled, under the feudal system, by which they were created, to furnish their quota of knights, or men-at-arms, and do other military service to the crown. True it is, that all this has now become fiction; but that alters not the nature or propriety of a bishop's tenure to his seat in Parliament.

But our object is not now to discuss formally this question; for that we hope to have other, and perhaps more proper occasions; our present displeasure at the anti-reforming propensities of the reverend bench somewhat unfit us to discuss a subject deeply affecting their very existence.

It may not be known to some of our readers, that this question of the right and propriety of the bishops sitting in Parliament, has been already once disposed of as it should be, by Parliament itself. A short account of the proceedings may not be without interest at the present moment.

It appears, that the evils resulting from "the government of archbishops and lord bishops," &c. had gradually acquired such a height and extent, during the period which elapsed between the reigns of Henry VIII. and Charles I., that the attention of the House of Commons was at length prayed for, in order to their suppression, by a petition, dated in the early part of December, 1640, and signed by 15,000 citizens of London. The Lower House immediately entered upon an investigation of the allegations of the petitioners, which issued in a censure being passed upon the whole body of the clergy, many of whom were likewise severely punished, by imprisonment and otherwise, and

also by the passing of a bill "to restrain bishops and others in holy orders, from intermeddling with secular affairs." This bill was sent up to the Lords on the first of May, 1641, and was opposed in a lengthy speech by Bishop Hall, who concluded in the following words: "To shut up therefore. Let us be taken off from all ordinary trade of secular employment, and, if you please, abridge us of intermeddling with matters of common justice; but leave us possessed of those places and privileges in Parliament which our predecessors have so long and peaceably enjoyed." In its subsequent stages it was opposed by Lord Newark, and by Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and was finally rejected by the House, but a conference with the Commons was asked and granted. It is somewhat curious, that on the same day that the Peers rejected this bill, the Commons had read a *second* time, by a large majority, a bill, entitled, "An Act for the utter abolishing and taking away of all archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries; deans, deans and chapters; archdeacons, prebendaries, chanters, canons, and other under-officers, out of the church of England." On the 11th of January, in the following year, a petition was presented to the House of Commons, from the inhabitants of the county of Bucks, in which they prayed that "Popish lords and bishops may be forthwith outed the House of Peers . . . . without which the petitioners have not the least hope of the kingdom's peace;" and on the 4th of February the bill passed the House of Lords, only the Bishops of Winchester, Rochester, and Worcester, dissenting. The King, however, refused his assent, but promised to take the matter into consideration, and "send an answer in convenient time," which being communicated to the Commons, the House expressed its sorrow at the delay, which they held to be as bad as a denial; and seeing "the passing of the bill to be a matter of great importance, the vote of the whole kingdom being for it, as may appear by daily petitions from several," they obtained the concurrence

of the Lords in drawing up three reasons for the speedy passing of the measure, and sent them up to the King by a deputation. On the 14th the bill received the royal assent, "the grace and goodness" of which were formally acknowledged in an address from both Houses.

We conclude this historical sketch, with the reasons offered by the Commons to the Lords, for the passing of this measure, upon the latter rejecting the bill, when originally sent up to their House. Most of them are as cogent in the 19th century as they were in the 17th:—

"1st. That it [the sitting of bishops in Parliament] was a very great hindrance to their ministerial functions. 2dly. Because they do vow and undertake at their ordination, when they enter into holy orders, that they will give themselves wholly to that vocation. 3dly. Because councils and canons, in several ages, do forbid them to meddle with secular affairs. 4thly. Because the twenty-four bishops have a dependency upon the two archbishops, and because of their oath of canonical obedience to them. 5thly. Because they are but for their lives, and therefore unfit to have a legislative power over the honours, inheritance, persons, and liberty of others. 6thly. Because of bishops' dependencies and expectancies of translations to places of greater profit. 7thly. That several bishops have of late much encroached upon the consciences and properties of the subjects; and they and their successors will be much encouraged still to encroach, and the subjects will be much discouraged from complaining against such encroachments, when they are judges of those complaints. The same reason extends to their legislative power, in any bill to pass for the regulation of their powers, upon any emergent inconveniency by it. 8thly. Because the whole number of them is interested to maintain the jurisdiction of bishops, which hath been found so grievous to the three kingdoms, that Scotland hath utterly abolished it, and multitudes in England and Ireland have petitioned against it. 9thly. Because the Bishops being Lords of Parliament, it setteth too great distance between them and the rest of their brethren in the Ministry; which occasioneth pride in them, discontent in others, and disquiet in the church.

"As to their having votes a long time since, the answer is, If inconvenient, time and usage are not to be considered by law-makers, some abbots voted in parliament as ancient as bishops, yet are taken away. For particular jurisdiction, as the deanry of Westminster, the Bishops of Durham and Ely, the Archbishop of York, which they are to execute in their own persons, the former reason shows

the inconveniency of them. For their Temporal Courts and Jurisdictions, which are executed by their temporal officers, the bill doth not concern them. Nor doth it reach to those certificates of plurality of benefices, legality of marriage, and the like, which the bishops make and return by course of common law. [The argument taken from the canons and laws ecclesiastical, must be considered as a fight against the bishops by their own weapons; a kind of Goliath's sword, to cut off Goliath's head: but not as though the House of Commons did thereby justify the legality of any of them.\*] The proviso of the Universities and Temporal Lords may stand in the bill, if their Lordships so please. To this may be added, That there is an act preparing for regulating the Universities, and this proviso is but permitted to stay there till the act be effected."

TO ALL THE  
PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,  
SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND,  
BUT PARTICULARLY TO  
THE PEOPLE OF HAMPSHIRE,  
ON THE  
AFFAIR OF THE  
BARINGS AND THE DEACLES.

"Never esteem men merely on account of their riches or their station. Respect goodness, find it where you may. Honour talent wherever you find it unassociated with vice; but honour it most when accompanied with exertion, and especially when exerted in the cause of truth and justice; and, above all things, hold it in honour when it steps forward to protect defenceless innocence against the attacks of powerful men."—COBBETT'S ENGLISH GRAMMAR, Letter XXIII.

(Continued from No. 5, column 317.)

Mrs. DEACLE, as I have before observed, was, after about three days' imprisonment, let out of the jail, and has never been called to any account since. Mr. DEACLE also was let out without bail of any sort or for any purpose; but having threatened to bring an action against the magistrates, he was indicted for a misdemeanor, in going about with a paper to compel landlords and parsons to reduce rents and tithes. The trial of this indictment, however, was put off to the Lent Assizes, when he was tried and acquitted, as I before observed, in the *most honourable manner*, according to the declaration of the judge himself. He was acquitted, without having an opportunity of producing a witness in his defence, and without counsel being heard in his defence: the evidence against him was so manifestly good for nothing, that the judge

\* This curious parenthesis is in the Report of the Conference in the Lords' Journals, but not in the Commons.

would not suffer any witness to be called in his defence. Well, then, here we have the innocence of the parties completely established: here we have proof that they *ought not to have been seized at all*: ought not to have been taken up, or troubled for a single moment, even in the mildest and most gentle manner. If, then, the evidence produced upon the trial of the action be taken to be true; if LEWINGTON and SWITZER and the servant-girl be not to be declared perjurers upon the bare word of the BARINGS, what are we to think of the hand-cuffs; what are we to think of the dragging across the yard, the joltings in the cart, the cramming into a post-chaise with a common jailer, and the cramming into jail as felonious malefactors?

Now, please to mark. LEWINGTON's evidence and the other constable's were given on the trial of the action at the Summer Assizes, when the result was a verdict of *fifty pounds* against BINGHAM BARING. This verdict astonished the whole world, as far as the news of it reached. Every one exclaimed, "*Fifty pounds!*" But Mr. DEACLE did nothing. He was, probably, not very well contented with the verdict; but he was content to let that, and the report of the trial, imperfect as that report was, produce their natural effect upon the public mind. He and Mrs. DEACLE had suffered a great deal, to be sure; but he was content with what he was sure would be the decision of the public. He was not wrong in his calculations. The public cried aloud against the actors in the scene at Marwell; and the press, urged on by the public, inveighed most bitterly against those parties. BINGHAM BARING had now to contend, not with Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE, but with the public and the press. He *published*; and he made the matter worse. In this state of things, Colonel EVANS, a Member of Parliament (without any intimation of his intention to Mr. DEACLE, observe), brought the subject before Parliament in the shape of a motion for the judges' notes, or something of that sort. But though he gave no intimation to Mr. DEACLE, he had taken care to give intimation of it to the BARINGS; and there were they and Mr. SERGEANT WILDE. It is not for me to say what these men said in Parliament; but it is for me say that the *Morning Chronicle* published under their names the most outrageous abuse and most atrocious accusations against Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE; under the names of both these men, the DEACLES were again accused of acts of felony, though honourably acquitted at Winchester, in the manner before described; and while the dirty printers, Jacob and Johnson, circulated these calumnies against Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE, they refused to publish a letter of Mr. DEACLE, written in his own defence against those calumnies.

Thus stood the matter for a little while; but Mr. DEACLE, unable to get any means of rebutting these slanders, petitioned, along with Mrs. DEACLE, the House of Commons, by petition dated 29th July, and which petition was

presented by the same Colonel EVANS, on the 22nd of August. It is from this petition that I have taken the statement above-mentioned. This petition, which told all the story about LONG and about BARNES seems to have astounded the men of millions. A committee was talked of, after the petition had been presented; but that went off somehow or another, and nothing was done; and nothing would have been done to this moment if the people had not taken up the matter; but they did take it up. Petitions came pouring in from all parts of the country, praying for an investigation into this affair. During two or three nights, the excuse for not appointing a committee was, that the BARINGS intended further legal proceedings. Member after Member declared that a committee ought to be granted, but that, *as further legal proceedings were intended by the BARINGS*, the proceedings of a committee might prejudice those proceedings. Now, do mark this. ALEXANDER BARING saw, of course, that if the committee was prevented from this consideration, further legal proceedings *must be commenced*: and, therefore, he then confessed that the family had consulted lawyers, and that they had resolved not to take any further legal proceedings. Oh! now then, a committee, of course; and Colonel EVANS appointed Tuesday, the 27th of September, to move for that committee; after Mr. HUME had presented a second petition calling for a committee; after this, Colonel EVANS did move for a committee, when, to the utter astonishment of all London, he was, by the mouth of Lord ALTHORP, opposed by the whole Government, who, upon this occasion, were joined by PEEL, GOULBOURN and BURDETT, all of whom said that they believed that the hon. Gentlemen, the BARINGS, most anxiously desired the committee, in order that they might clear themselves in the eyes of the public; but that it was a case which would render a committee improper.

The House at last divided, when there was a great majority against the committee. So that here are a parcel of people, telling us that they believe the BARINGS to be innocent, calling the BARINGS their honourable friends, having the greatest confidence that they would be able completely to disprove, not only the assertions of Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE, but the sworn evidence of LEWINGTON, SWITZER and the servant-girl. Here are they most solemnly declaring this; and, at the same time, refusing their hon. friends the only possible means of making their innocence appear! But, my friends, mark particularly what the reporter ascribes to Lord ALTHORP. The reporter says, that he pledged his honour, as a gentleman, that "he opposed the motion with *great unwillingness*, because he had a high esteem "for the hon. Member for Portsmouth (FRANCIS BARING), and it gave him great "pain to do any-thing which might prevent "that gentleman from setting himself right "in the estimation of the public." This he declared upon the word of a man of honour

and a gentleman! After which, I think, we may with propriety call him "*the man of honour and the gentleman.*"

People of Hampshire particularly, if any of you, either at Portsmouth or Winchester or anywhere else, have entertained a thought of electing any one or more of these BARINGS to represent you, and especially if any one should apply to you to promise them your votes, give the applicant this sensible and honest answer: "It is my duty, above all things, to take care that the man that I vote for, shall not be suspected of a disposition to put the liberty and lives of myself and my countrymen in jeopardy: two of these BARINGS stand accused of the memorable acts committed at Marwell; and, until they be cleared of that charge, I shall regard myself as an infamous villain if I voted for either of them, or for any of their abettors or upholders." If the applicant answer, that the BARINGS most earnestly want an investigation in order that they may clear themselves; but that the Ministers and the House will not let them have it, your reply is, "That is very strange: the Ministers call them their hon. friends, and one of them is a Lord of the Treasury, and a relation of the Prime Minister: most strange it is, therefore, that, if the Ministers believe them to be capable of proving their innocence, they will not grant them the means of proving it, and of thereby crushing the DEACLES for ever; of removing completely the accusation from the families of the Grange and Stratton, causing the whole people to rush forward in their behalf, making them the most popular men in the county, and, in fact, giving them the command of it." If the applicant for votes for the BARINGS shall persevere, and say that the Ministers are obstinate, are resolved not to give their friends an opportunity of proving their innocence, which they so easily might do, the final answer of every honest man will be, "Well, then, I cannot help that; I cannot be sure of their innocence until Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE's prayer be granted: I cannot be sure of their innocence until it be proved, and, therefore, if the Ministers do not give way in behalf of their hon. friends, I must choose somebody else; for this is a thing such as was never heard of before in the world. Suppose my son to be accused of some great offence which makes him wholly unfit to associate with any-body but downright tyrannical brutes: suppose me to be thoroughly convinced of his innocence; suppose the case to be such as that he can prove his innocence in a minute, and without a farthing of expense, and that it only requires my consent to his going into that proof, would not all the world condemn me as the worst brute in nature, if I refused that consent? If, indeed, I believe him to be guilty, or if I strongly suspect it, then I should prefer his continuing without an attempt to produce the proof of his innocence, to his having a trial that must end in his conviction."

"tion." Here is not a son here; but here is something very near it. FRANCIS BARING is accused by Mrs. DEACLE of hauling her up, and holding her arm while the hand-cuff was put upon it; then dragging her along with such violence as to pull her hand out of the bolt which was held to her merely by the ruffle which had caught in the snap of the bolt. She further accuses him of dragging her into the yard without any cover upon her head, of lugging her across the yard like a furze bavin, under his arm, then hoisting her up into the coal-cart, where there was NEVILL to pull her by the arms as if she were a calf or a sheep going into the cart of a butcher. This is what Mrs. DEACLE asserts respecting the conduct of FRANCIS T. BARING. This man has married the niece of the Prime Minister, Lord GREY. Lord GREY must have seen this over and over again. He must have talked the subject over with this Baring himself, as well as with others. He must have talked to the ATTORNEY-GENERAL about it; now, then, suppose yourself, reader, in the place of Lord GREY; here is the husband of his niece; here is a Lord of the Treasury immediately under himself in his own department; here is the heir of a father who has a great estate. Now, if Lord GREY thought this man innocent of this charge, do you believe that he would refuse him the only means that there are in the world of proving that innocence? I desire you, reader, once more to look at all the circumstances; once more to look at the nature of the charge which Mrs. DEACLE prefers; once more to see what danger, not only from present unpopularity, but from lasting impression, this young man is exposed to from this charge remaining disproved; once more, then, put yourself in the place of Lord GREY, and consider him to be a man of sound judgment and of great experience, feeling most acutely, as he must, the doubts which this affair is exciting with regard to the motives and character of his ministry; knowing, as he must, the uneasiness, the troubles, the ceaseless anxieties, that it is causing in the several families of the BARINGS, in his brother's family and his own family too; knowing, as he must, that the eyes of the whole nation are upon him, watching his conduct as to this affair; and well knowing, as he must, that a committee which would prove the innocence of the BARINGS, would, in one single day, scatter all these troubles to the winds: put yourself in his place, reader, and then say whether you believe, that, if he was convinced that the BARINGS were innocent, he would refuse this committee.

At any rate, and at all events, until the committee be granted, you have a ready answer to every one who attempts to bespeak your vote for a BARING. You cannot give the vote until the charge be removed; if these Ministers will not consent to suffer it to be removed; if the honourable friends of the BARINGS will not suffer their innocence to be made appear, they must wait with patience till

their enemies get into Parliament, when that which friendship will not grant *enmity probably may!*

Here the case stops at present; but here it cannot stop long. The people will continue to petition. New petitions will come, and those who have already petitioned, will petition again. Every petition gives the thing a stir up; and, at last, we shall get justice. If justice acquit the magistrates, if justice declare Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE culpable and the BARINGS and LONG innocent, *then* we shall be satisfied; *then* we shall not think ourselves in jeopardy; *then* we shall know that an innocent woman has not been handcuffed and jolted in a cart and crammed into a jail; and then we shall have the satisfaction to know that BECKETT did not call BARNES out of the dock to LONG, who was a grand-juryman at the same time; but unless there be a committee, unless the honourable friends of the BARINGS will grant them a committee to prove their innocence, while the other parties are praying for it too, it would be to proclaim ourselves to the world as brute beasts, to entertain any doubt at all upon the matter, or to act upon any other ground than that of the allegations as they lie before us.

I am, my Friends and Countrymen,  
Your faithful and most obedient servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

### COBBETT - CORN.

I HAVE received corn, ground by fourteen persons near GREAT GRIMSBY, in Lincolnshire, and some very very fine corn, ground at MORPETH, in Northumberland. I wish that a gentleman, who has a crop at PEVENSY, in Sussex, would send me four or five of his ears of corn: I shall then have some grown at PAISLEY, and some 450 miles to the north of PEVENSY.

### TO DOCTOR BLACK.

Bolt-court, November 11, 1831.

DEAR DOCTOR,

I PERCEIVE the *great alarm* you are in at what you call the success of THE LIAR, in the great towns, especially at LEEDS, and I hasten to comfort you. What was his triumph? It was none at all: it was the triumph of Mr. FOSTER of the *Patriot*, over the BAINES of the *Mercury*, which Baines is the "*great Liar of the North*," and which Baines is *Brougham's man*, and is now working to impose upon the fine town of

Leeds, that MACAULAY, who is now the Lansdown man for the rotten borough of CALNE. This is the real truth of the matter. Mr. MANN and Mr. FOSTER seem to have got our LIAR to Leeds as the means of humbling Baines and the *Brougham faction*; and Baines was, it appears, fool enough to go and try his strength against him on the spot. How Foster and Mann and all the real reformers must have laughed, to see the GREAT LIAR of the North and THE LIAR of the South, meet in direct and deadly conflict! I saw our Liar's approach towards Leeds, and talking with a Yorkshire man about the means that Baines was preparing to meet him, I said: "I'll bet you 100 to one "the LIAR of the South beats the "LIAR of the North, though the latter "takes, and not unjustly, the surname "of GREAT." The Yorkshire man, knowing the capacity of our LIAR, dared not take my bet. If Baines had been man enough to use the *point of his shoe*, or a *horse-whip*, he would have triumphed in an instant; but when it was a matter of mere HARD LYING, he was sure to be defeated; for at that our Southern fellow would beat the Devil himself. BAINES did, it seems, *take him by the collar*, upon which the hero *retreated into another room*, with a window to speak from, and *fastened himself in!* It was the *shoe*, or a *horse-whip*, that was wanted. How FOSTER and MANN, each of whom has as much sense in his little-finger as the LIAR has in his whole carcase, must have trembled for the success of the frolic, when they saw the brazen thing "*turn pale*" and *retreat!* But, Doctor, are you so little informed as to imagine that the working people of Leeds *do not read the debates in Parliament*; and that they do not know *all about our LIAR*? They know well all about him; they know about his *self-denying oath*, taken before the Lord Mayor, and about his *getting a contract from the Wellington Ministry after that*; they know about his *pulling down the tricoloured flag at the Rotunda*, and about his *frequent visits to Peel at the Home Office at the same time*; they know what a horribly

ignorant thing it is; but they also know that it was the devil of BAINES and MACAULAY; and, therefore, Mr. MANN (who remembers the dungeons of Sidmouth) went off to fetch the great bulky brazen thing to Leeds. A gentleman who saw this fellow at the Westminster election of 1818, haranguing a crowd from a window, heard the harangue crowned with a *hurra! hurra! hurra!* and heard a fat butcher, who was turning round and putting on his hat, exclaim, "*What a damned fool this!*"

Be assured, Doctor, that such is the case in all the towns whither OUR LIAR has gone: he is the raw-head and bloody-bones wherewith to frighten the crafty knaves who think to cheat the people quietly out of all share in the representation: he is not the *deluder* of the people, but their *tool*. At last, some man will *kick him*, or *horsewhip him*; and then he will be of no further use. His LIE about the CORN shows "*what a fool it is*," as the huzzaing butcher said. The very earth now gives him the lie. But, Doctor, while you call this fool-liar "*a friend*," I do not hear a word from you about the fiend-like conduct of the *London press*, and of *Burdett's crew*, towards Mr. WAKLEY, whose conduct has been so perfectly unexceptionable and meritorious! You think that the people in the North are ignorant, because they *do not read the London newspapers*. If they were to believe these newspapers, what base injustice would they do to Mr. WAKLEY! And what a villain *should I be in their eyes*, if they did not despise those newspapers!

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. The BLOODY OLD TIMES has had the infamy to-day to lump Mr. WAKLEY with the LIAR, to say, that the former as well as the latter are incited by the *boroughmongers*. This very thing of lumping up with the LIAR this bloody paper did, for a long time, with regard to me: and yet Doctor Black is so unhappy lest the people of Leeds *should not get London newspapers to read!*

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1831.

#### INSOLVENTS.

BEAUCHAMP, R., Holborn, silversmith.  
LEE, A., Regent's-Quadrant, music-seller.  
PATERSON, J., Tonbridge, Kent, coal-merch.  
WATSON, H., Regent-street, printseller.

#### BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

HALL, W., T. S. Hall, and W. J. Hall, Crosby-square, packers.

#### BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

SHAW, W., Aston, Staffordsh., china-manuf.

#### BANKRUPTS.

CANNINGS, W., Bath, cabinet-maker.  
CLARKSON, B., Selby, Yorkshire, banker.  
EVANS, M., Penmaen Colliery, Monmouthshire, coal-merchant.  
FIELD, D., Garford, Berkshire, mealman.  
GATES, T., White Hart-court, Lombard-st., money-scrivener.  
HERITAGE, J., Uxbridge, draper.  
MANSFIELD, T., and J. Hackney, Cobridge, Staffordshire, earthenware-manufacturers.  
MELDRUM, D. Bath, haberdasher.  
PHILLIPS, J., jun., Great Newport-street, Newport-market, china-dealer.  
SCHOLFIELD, J., and J. Cleugh, Selby, Yorkshire, bankers.  
SHIRLEY, T., New Bridge-st., Blackfriars, wine-merchant.  
STEPHEN, J., Great St. Helen's, wine-merch.  
TAYLOR, W. W., Marybonne-lane, wine-merchant.  
VICKERY, W., Brereton, Cheshire, innkeeper.  
WHAYMAN, R., West Smithfield, victualler.  
WHITWORTH, W., Manchester, and N. Whitworth, Drogheda, corn-factors.  
WILLS, E. P., Chichester, tailor.  
WOOD, H., Jermyn-street, upholsterer.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1831.

#### INSOLVENTS.

BANNER, H. and F. G., Cripplegate-buildings, plumbers.  
FAYRER, R. J., London, mariner.  
WRIGHT, A., London, merchant.

#### BANKRUPTS.

ANDREW, T., Harpenden, Hertfords., baker.  
BILLOWS, G. B., Poole, ironmonger.  
CLUGSTON, A., and C. P. Chapman, Paul's-wharf, Thames-street, merchants.  
EASTWOOD, W. Waterloo-road, linen-draper.  
GOLDING, J., Manchester, draper.  
GREEN, C., Cheltenham, Glostersh., cooper.  
HARVEY, W., and T. Grice, Holloway, builders.  
HAWKINS, T. B., Stafford, plumber.  
HIRST, J., Leeds, corn-factor.  
HUNT, J., Bath, grocer.  
HUXSTEP, S., Thannington, Kent, pig-dealer.  
JONES, J., Bushey, Hertfords., silk-throwster.

TREASURE, J., Monythusloyne, Monmouthshire, shop-keeper.  
 WRIGHT, G., Woodhouse, Yorkshire, stonemason.

### LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, NOVEMBER 7.—Our Supplies, since this day se'nnight, of English wheat, barley, malt, and beans, as also English and foreign peas, and Irish oats and flour, have been moderately good; of English flour, great; of foreign wheat, Irish, Scotch and foreign barley, and seeds from all quarters, but limited; of foreign oats, or rye, from any quarter, none.

In the early part of this day's market, trade threatened to be dull; but the holders of foreign corn, particularly of wheat, the duty on which is now 26s. 8d. per quarter,—seeming determined to hold for an anticipated advance, and consequent decline in duty; and the assemblage of buyers becoming numerous, good wheat and barley ultimately began to go off somewhat briskly; oats, beans, malt, flour, and grey peas, steadily at but little variation, if any, from last Monday's quotations. Boiling peas looked a little upwards. Hemp seed has fallen from 5*l.* to 4*l.* per last; and linseed sold tardily, at last week's prices. The quotations of most other seeds are nominal. It was, indeed, supposed that, to effect sales of them, a considerable abatement must have been submitted to.

Wheat .....	53s. to 65s.
Rye .....	34s. to 38s.
Barley .....	30s. to 35s.
— fine .....	35s. to 45s.
Peas, White .....	35s. to 40s.
— Boilers .....	38s. to 48s.
— Grey .....	36s. to 41s.
Beans, Old .....	37s. to 40s.
— Tick .....	38s. to 42s.
Oats, Potatoo .....	25s. to 30s.
— Poland .....	24s. to 27s.
— Feed .....	19s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack .....	60s. to 65s.

### PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, —s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 50s. to 54s.	
Pork, India, new ... 126s. 0d. to —s. 0d.	
Pork, Mess, new ... 60s. 0d. to 65s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast ... 100s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 100s. to 102s.	
— Cork ... 97s. to 98s.	
— Limerick ... 97s. to —s.	
— Waterford ... 94s. to 98s.	
— Dublin ... 95s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 60s. to 60s.	
— Gloucester, Double ... 56s. to 63s.	
— Gloucester, Single ... 48s. to 54s.	
— Edam ... 46s. to 50s.	
— Gouda ... 44s. to 48s.	
Hams, Irish ... 42s. to 54s.	

SMITHFIELD—November 7.

This day's supply of beasts was rather great: of sheep, fat calves, and porkers, moderately

good. The trade was, throughout rather dull. With beef, veal, and pork, at Friday's quotations; with mutton at a depression of 2*d.* per stone. Beasts, 3,249; sheep and lambs, 18,450; calves, 153; pigs, 180.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 11.

The arrivals this week are fair. The prices remain the same as on Monday.

### THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri.   Sat.   Mon.   Tues.   Wed.   Thurs.	
Cons. Ann. } 82½   83   82½   82½   82½   82½	

### THE WHOLE LAW OF DEBTOR AND CREDITOR FOR FIVE SHILLINGS!

This day is published,

**A FAMILIAR COMPENDIUM of the LAW of DEBTOR and CREDITOR:** comprising the whole of the Bankrupt Laws, with the alterations and amendments recently enacted by the legislature: the whole of the Consolidated laws, as now in operation, relating to insolvent debtors, with forms, &c. Arrangements between Debtor and Creditor, including compositions and deeds of trust; the Law of Arrest on Mesne Process; the Law relating to Property intrusted to Factors or Agents; the recent Act confirming the Statute of Limitations and regulating the Law concerning representations of character, and LORD BROUGHAM'S NEW BANKRUPTCY CONTRACT.

By JOHN H. BRADY,

Author of "Plain Instructions to Executors," &c.

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